RHODE ISLAND ARCHITECTURE

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Henry-Russell Hitchcock, jr., Wesleyan University

Rhode Island Architecture

RHODE ISLAND ARCHITECTURE

By HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, JR.

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PREFACE

by Alexander Dorner

THE Rhode Island Museum Press is pleased to present as the author of its second volume the distinguished architectural critic and scholar, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, jr. The authority of his *Modern Architecture*, a general history of architecture since 1750, is widely recognized, and his other books, articles and exhibitions, chiefly devoted to the architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth century both in Europe and America, have been important contributions to our knowledge of the past and our understanding of the present. Furthermore, Mr. Hitchcock combines his scholarly command of factual information with a dynamic and original approach which derives from a consideration of the past stimulating ideas and attitudes about the present.

This book is not so much a formal history of architecture in Rhode Island as a pictorial survey of three hundred years of Rhode Island building arranged in part chronologically, in part topically. A more accurate, if more clumsy title might have been "Chapters in Rhode Island Architecture." The plates are as fully, if concisely, captioned as information permits. The text consists of a series of connected essays in critical appreciation dealing more with ideas than with facts. A more complete presentation of the facts of the story, for all but the last three sections, may be found in Mrs. Downing's excellent book, *The Early Homes of Rhode Island*, while the *Federal Guide to Rhode Island* also offers much information which it has not been possible to incorporate here.

Although most of the facts presented here derive from the above-mentioned sources, the assistance of Mrs. Downing, Mr. Norman M. Isham, Mr. H. M. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Mr. Victor Hill of the Federal Writer's Project and Mr. Samuel A. Green of the Federal Art Project in Providence has been extremely valuable, and in Newport that of Mr. King Covell, and of Mr. H. O. Brigham of the Newport Historical Society. Many others have helped as well and to all these friends who have assisted in making this book possible, we wish to offer our sincere gratitude.

The photographs come chiefly from four sources: Mr. Nicholas Romano, of the Rhode Island School of Design, Mr. Joseph McCarthy, Mr. Harvey Weber and Mr. Arthur Lebouef, who together with Mrs. Downing has permitted us to draw freely upon the material gathered by them for *The Early Homes of Rhode Island*. Other photographs by Berenice Abbott of New York, King Covell of Newport, Norman Watson of Providence and Adelard Legere of Fisher's Island have been used as well as some old photographs from the Rhode Island Historical Society. In all cases where it is known, the name of the photographer is given in parentheses in the caption of the plates. We are grateful to Mr. Isham and to various copyright holders for permission to use certain plans and to Mr. Neutra for the plan of the John Nicholas Brown house. We owe the use of the new isometric of the Clemence-Irons house to the kindness of Mr. Philip D. Creer and the Historic American Buildings Survey.

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I. THE EARLIEST BUILDINGS. 1640-1690.

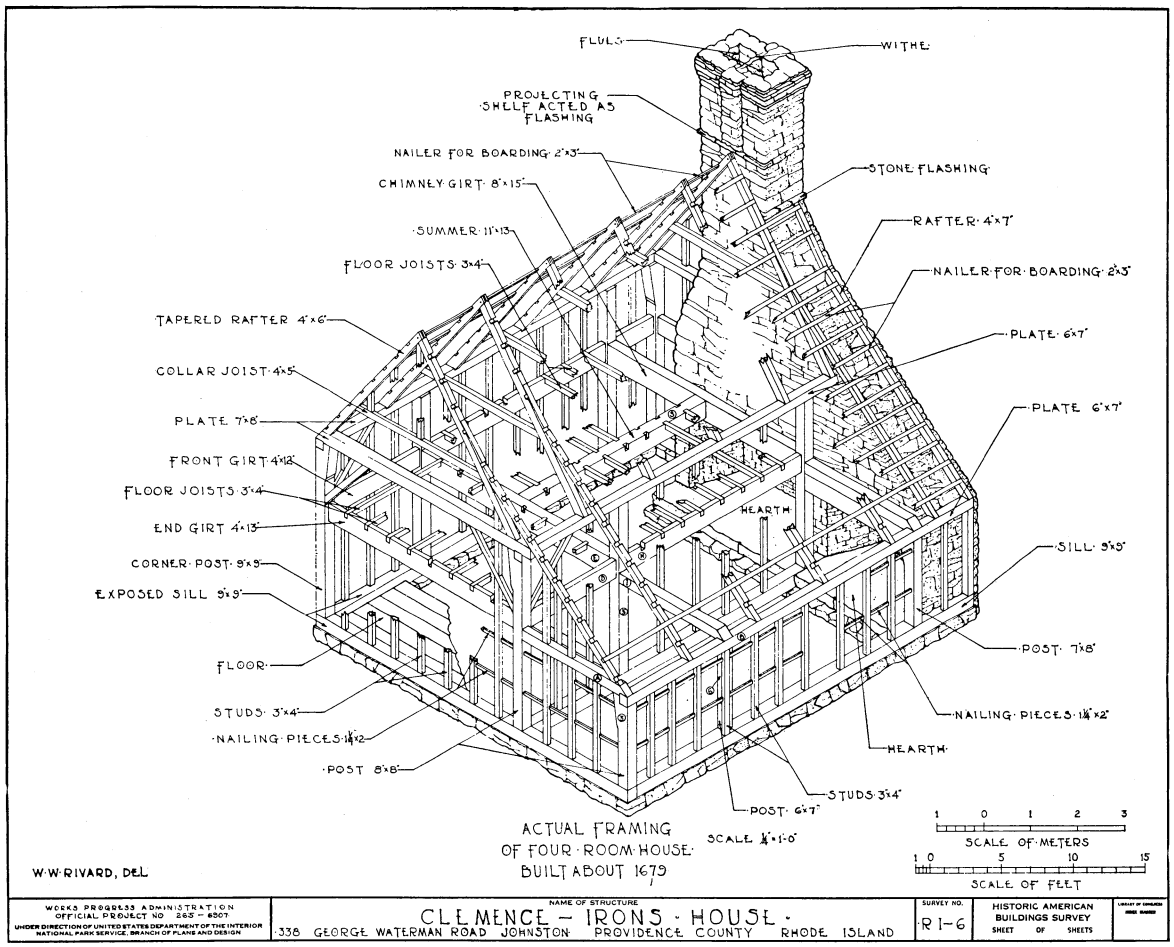


Figure 1. Clemence-Irons house, George Waterman Road, Johnston. c. 1680, chimney possibly before 1650. Isometric. From HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY.

"HAPPILY," wrote Louisa Caroline Huggins Tuthill in 1848, referring to the earliest buildings in America, "they were all of such perishable materials, that they will not much longer remain to annoy travellers, in 'search of the picturesque' through the beautiful villages of New England." Whatever we may think today of the taste, in this connection, and of the historical sense of Mrs. Tuthill, she was the first to introduce chapters on American building into a general "History of Architecture." Moreover her prophecy was only too true. Present-day travellers in "search of the picturesque" now set out particularly in the hope of finding "those wooden enormities," as she calls the early houses; but in Rhode Island there is today very little to satisfy their pious interest. Indeed, until the completion of the restoration of the Thomas Clemence house, now in progress (Fig. 1), it is fair to say that there remains not one edifice which gives today a really clear and complete idea from the exterior of what the frame houses of the

first two generations after the settlement were like.

The most satisfying in its present state is undoubtedly the Eleazar Arnold house of 1687 on the Great Road in Lincoln (Plate 1). Even there the rear slope of the roof has been raised, the great front gable is gone, and an eighteenth century portal and double-hung sash windows replace the plain battened door and the small leaded panes of the original casements. But the magnificent stone chimney extending the full width and height of the end wall, and the general mass as defined by this chimney and by the front slope of the roof remain unaltered. Thus the impression the building itself gives is not so very different from that we get from the carefully restored model prepared by Brown University students under the supervision of Professor Taylor. (Fig. 2). Of the early interiors we can obtain a somewhat better image from the great ground storey of the same Arnold house (Plate 2), or from the smaller restored room in the Clement Weaver house on Howland Road in East Greenwich of 1679.

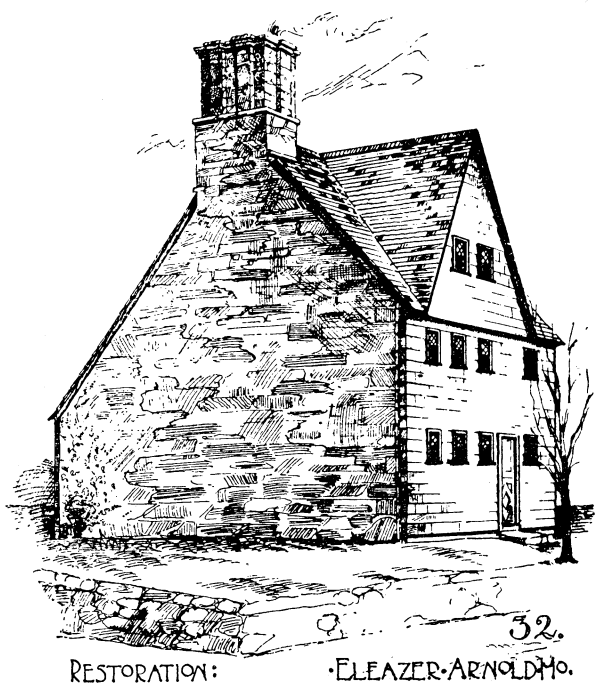


Figure 2. Eleazar Arnold House, Gread Road, Lincoln, 1687.
Perspective restoration. From Isham and Brown, EARLY RHODE ISLAND HOUSES, *1895*

In general, however, to visualize the first stage of architecture in Rhode Island it is necessary to turn to modern books and to the various restored examples of the period in Massachusetts. *Early Rhode Island Houses,* published by Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown in 1895, a pioneer work in the serious archaeological study of American Colonial remains, is still today a classic in the field and full of information for the serious student. In it were brought together the vital data of most of the early houses which still exist (although rarely even yet restored to plausible seventeenth century condition) as well as those of many other edifices which have since been destroyed. The appreciation of this early stage is not easy for those who must see architecture in a reasonably authentic state in order to comprehend it. But to those already familiar with the restored seventeenth century houses in Essex County, Massachusetts, who will turn to the admirable first chapter of Mrs. Antoinette Downing's *Early Homes of Rhode Island,* published in 1937, the general picture as it is known today should be clear enough: the details need not be filled in again here. It is more important to stress the particular significance of these structures and the wholly different cultural climate in which they existed from anything the eighteenth and nineteenth century knew. It is perhaps not wholly an illusion to believe that this cultural climate in architecture is becoming once more sympathetic and comprehensible to us in the twentieth century. With true understanding may come intelligent emulation.

We need not consider the very earliest shelters erected by the settlers. The English wigwams of roots and bark, the sheds screened with interwoven branches and clay, even the more solid palisades of hewn planks driven into the ground and roofed with thatch, of which we read in early accounts, are all forever gone. Moreover, they were never intended to be anything but temporary makeshifts, even though they were perhaps no worse than some of the poorer settlers left behind them in England. But here in America, surrounded by the virgin forest, there was no reason why the leaders of the community should not provide themselves almost at once with solid timber-framed houses such as were coming into general use among the yeoman class in England; nor why everyone, even indentured servants, should not, with the profusion of land and the availability of building materials, aspire to imitate the first permanent houses in remarkably short order. Wherefore, when we speak of the earliest building in America, we refer to timber-framed houses, the first of which were built within a few years of the settlement both in Virginia and in Massachusetts, and which may have appeared as soon as the ground was cleared in the case of the secondary colonies in Conecticut and Rhode Island.

To appreciate these early timber-framed houses in relation to contemporary English building, it is necessary to disabuse our minds of a picture in which the great churches and fortresses of the Middle Ages on the one hand, and on the other the sophisticated new architecture of the Tudor and Stuart courts and the great land-owners play too prominent a part. Even a corrected picture based on half-timbered English towns like Chester, and on the smaller and simpler Elizabethan and Jacobean manor houses is partly false in scale. The cultural, if not the financial and political, relations of the new colonies were with the villages of the English countryside and not with the larger towns and the gentry; the average social status of the settlers in New England was that of yeomen, not that of gentlemen nor of the urban middle-class. The new houses of the English countryside built in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by yeomen were in size and type of construction the natural models of those their more adventurous brothers built beyond the seas.

The appearance of this new domestic architecture marked the establishment of a new class on the land between the gentry and the peasantry, corresponding to but differentiated from the commercial and professional middle-class in the towns. Its general character can perhaps be grasped more clearly from the American examples than from those in the mother country, where possibly there were never as many; and certainly those that remain have been more seriously altered and enlarged, and less frequently well restored than in New England. The testimony of earlier and later English cottages is also relevant; but it must not be forgotten that these yeomen's houses were something more than the English cottages of their own day in scale.

The word "cottage," beginning with the Romantic age, was to achieve an altogether absurd sentimental prestige in America, until even the late nineteenth century mansions of Newport were conventionally known as "cottages." However the essential significance of this earliest order of domestic building in America and of its English prototypes lay in the establishment of the individual house upon a middle-class scale, in spirit as much above the labourer's cottage as it was below the landowner's manor house in England or on the Continent. A later rise in the economic status of the agricultural labourer in England was to confuse the issue;

for in time the labourer was to be provided with cottages almost identical in physical character with the houses the yeoman built in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The earliest building in America was not merely democratic — the difference between the largest houses and the smallest built within the first two generations after the settlement was generally slight indeed — it established certain traditions which remain even today at the heart of American thinking upon the question of shelter. The first houses were detached and not appreciably different whether they stood within a group that formed a town or were wholly isolated. Thus the essentially "suburban" character of the American house was early established and for a long time in most of the Colonies there was no other type of domestic building.

It is true that the large country house, descending from the mediaeval castle and manor, a little isolated community of more than one family group, was from almost the beginning required by the special social organization of Virginia and the South; but it did not spread as widely or rapidly as the Northern yeoman's house. Moreover, while the towns of Dutch foundation, like New York and Albany, had row houses of the type introduced also into England from Holland in the seventeenth century, they were elsewhere hardly known in the seventeenth century. Although row houses rapidly became ubiquitous in English cities following the lead of London after the great fire of 1666, — when the authorities required that all new construction be in masonry instead of timber as a protection against conflagrations — there were few American towns, indeed, in which the type really established itself before the Revolution. As to the tenement or apartment house, that had of course existed continuously in southern Europe since Roman times, and even made its way into the northern continental cities by the late Middle Ages. But it was so alien to England and Holland, the two chief sources of architectural influence in America, that except perhaps in the Latin settlements in the extreme South, it had no effect upon American practice until the nineteenth century, when it appeared almost spontaneously as a result of urban congestion. It is desirable specifically to set apart these other types of domestic building, the country house, the row house and the tenement, from the main tradition of the isolated single family house. For they have all made their appearance at one time or another in America without appreciably modifying the basic truth that the seventeenth century New England yeoman's house is the principal and the most important prototype of the majority of later American dwellings.

The tradition of the isolated single family house, in the thought of present-day economic conservatives, "a home" to be "owned," has much human dignity. Yet in the vastly more complicated economic world of the twentieth century it may appear that it is an ideal no longer capable of wide realization in the large and elaborately developed centers of population which modern industrial conditions seem to demand. Today, indeed, the rich of their own accord in the great cities flee to tenements not essentially dissimilar to those to which even the most idealistic thought regarding housing chiefly consigns the workers. But if we are tempted by the striking contrast between the first homes of our forebears on the one hand, and on the other both the Park Avenue apartments and the new governmental housing projects in New York to a gloomy parallel with Rome in the later centuries of the Empire, we must not forget that outside a few large cities — and above a certain in-

come level — the isolated one-family house as established in the seventeenth century remains the American standard. It is, moreover, a standard that may continue to be within reach of the majority of the nation's population, if certain of the essential qualities of the earliest houses can be maintained or regained in the terms of our own day.

The usual sort of emulation of the earliest American building today is a false one. Nothing is stupider, perhaps, than a modern suburban dwelling of six or seven rooms and a bath or two, with central heating, electric refrigerator and garage, built of light wooden construction, and more or less skilfully disguised on the exterior by overhangs, irregular clapboards or shingles and small windows asymmetrically arranged as an "Early American Farmhouse" — a "style," for which a material proportion of potential home-owners expressed a preference in an architectural questionnaire prepared a year or so ago. Even to think in terms of "style" indicates how little the old work is properly understood. The timber-framed yeoman's house of England and America in the seventeenth century was not, like the academic houses of the eighteenth century, the product of conscious stylistic intention. Even to call it Gothic is a misnomer. It is in no sense to be considered as a work of capitalized Architecture; and to imitate its visual appearance is as irrelevant as to imitate an Indian wigwam in ferro-concrete. Although there are many variations, nevertheless the earliest houses represent a highly standardized organic type. The variations merely help us to establish the absolute fixity of the essentials. When any of these essentials begin to be modified we stand upon the brink of a different and aesthetically self-conscious age. In the later age, whoever the builder may have been, the book ideals of the architect gradually came to replace the elementary rules of fitness, economy and need of the craftsman.

Essentially the Early American house is a heavy sheathed skeleton covered with a gable roof, and provided with one large chimney for heating and cooking, a stair to reach the second storey, a solid door, and a few windows small enough to exclude the cold — and perhaps the Indians, yet large enough to let in some light (Fig. 1). The only elements not covered by this definition are gables at right angles to the main roof, such as the Arnold house once had, to provide more light and space in the attic; projecting entries with small chambers over them, of which there are no examples, I believe, in Rhode Island; and the overhangs of which few if any are extant in Rhode Island. The overhang is a natural enough thing, since the houses were usually built, not like a single crate subdivided horizontally, but like two crates one upon another, the upper crate by its own rigidity easily providing a cantilever over the lower crate. Hence more space could be provided in the upper storey, which is presumably drier and warmer than that below. Only the protruding porch, which is a relatively rare feature and perhaps usually late, need be considered as a real but very minor complication of the essential simplicity of the type.

Yet in the arrangement of these elements considerable variety is possible. For instance, Isham has established that the version with one room on each storey and two full storeys below the attic, was particularly favored in the Providence area, later elaborated as in the Arnold house by placing a partition halfway back and providing two fireplaces side by side in the broad end chimney (Fig. 3). To the south the houses were more usually of a storey and a half only, but with the chimney in the center and two rooms on each floor. From a very early date, more-

over, the original houses began to be enlarged by doubling the unit or by extending the main roof at the rear to provide a lean-to behind the main house (Fig. 1).

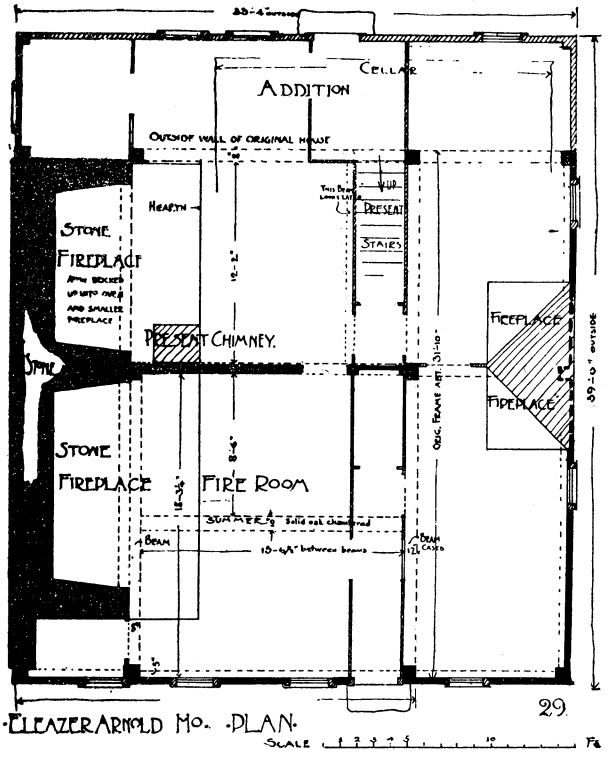


Figure 3. Eleazar Arnold House, Great Road, Lincoln, 1687.
Ground storey plan. From Isham and Brown, EARLY RHODE ISLAND HOUSES, *1895.*

Such a building type has to be understood organically in terms of its particular structure and its various domestic uses. It has no "design" which can be considered separately from its organism. It can therefore be properly emulated only in idea and not in visual appearance in a later age when methods of construction have quite changed and the requirements of domestic life have been not so much complicated perhaps — although that is what ordinarily strikes one — as wholly reorganized. Perhaps if we could grasp the real essentials of our own way of living as clearly as the settlers grasped theirs we could achieve a comparable schematic simplicity. But quite as much we need to reestablish an equal directness of organic expression in terms of whatever structural methods are for us most economical. But we are put off — the layman perhaps more than the architect — by concepts of "style," of capitalized Architecture. As a result we are largely incapable of conceiving visual quality in a building in any other terms than those of surface design; indeed usually of types of surface design borrowed from the past and ill adapted to our own needs and our methods of building.

Yet it is a mistake to consider seventeenth century houses in any dogmatic sense as "functional" architecture. Because their builders were in general Puritans in religion does not mean that they were conciously Puritans in their aesthetics, as many men of taste in the twentieth century undoubtedly are. Their aesthetic delight, however, — if we may hypothesize in them a faculty which we recognize but that they did not — came first of all from essentials, from the quality of the materials they used: the solid oak of the skeleton, visible within; the sturdy rubble of the chimneys; the neat regularity of the clapboard sheathing; and the warm feather-like covering of the shingled roofs. They admired the solid, the heavy, the well-worked, which in terms of the materials they used were the qualities most likely to give good service. We may more appropriately admire the thin, the light, the highly finished, which in terms of our newest materials are most economical and represent the best craftsmanship. But their admiration, their hypothetical aesthetic delight, was not limited to those things any more than their taste in clothes, which actually ran to strong and autumnal colours, was limited to those grim garments of grey and black in which nineteenth century artists, influenced by a later

and more overpowering sartorial Puritanism, have generally depicted them.

If their architecture shows little gratuitous embellishment, it is yet not wholly devoid of it. Their chimneys were usually pilastered in some dim echo, perhaps, of the Gothic buttress, and even corniced in some premonition of the conversion to academic style which was proceeding apace in England and would come to America before the end of the century. Beneath their overhangs (though not, I believe, in Rhode Island) the ends of corner beams were sometimes worked in bulbous drops; while stair-rails showed some turned or cut shapes in their balusters, and the interior sheathing usually had moulded planing at the joints. Any one may copy this limited vernacular of ornament and thus achieve a superficial American seventeenth century flavour. But that is not our problem today. What we need is to achieve again a command of the essentials of the organism of the house. Thence perhaps in time similar refinements, even embellishments, specifically suited to our new materials and our machine tools will come.

The earliest period of Rhode Island architecture forms the smallest section of the plates in this book. But the rare examples which remain are in some ways more relevant to our tastes and our problems today than any of the later material, except that in the section devoted to early mills and mill villages, if only we can come to appreciate these houses with intellectual clarity and not merely as the material of an architectural fancy dress as futile as it is irreverent.

We cannot leave the seventeenth century architecture of Rhode Island without a word about a wholly unique monument which is, indeed, perhaps the best known edifice in the state. (Plate 3) The curiously pre-Romanesque character of the masonry and the design of the Old Stone Mill built about 1665 by Governor Benedict Arnold in Newport long supported a legend that it was the work of hypothetical Viking explorers in early Mediaeval times. Few today maintain this thesis. Indeed, it even seems more probable now that it is the earliest New England structure to reflect in its general design the new academic architecture of seventeenth century England. For it certainly resembles the observatory that Inigo Jones erected in 1632 for Sir Edward Peyto, at Chesterton in Warwickshire.

As the only non-domestic building of the seventeenth century that has come down to us the Old Stone Mill might seem to imply that the meeting houses and town-houses, which have all been destroyed, were of a more monumental character than the remaining dwelling houses. But this is definitely known not to have been true. Except in size and plan they were identical in character with the houses. The Mill, for all its wholly unique character, may more properly be considered as the very distant prototype of that splendid series of masonry mills — in a slightly different sense of the word — with which the growing textile industry endowed Rhode Island in the nineteenth century.

II. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COLONIAL. 1690-1790.

FOR fifty years the eighteenth century Colonial has been esteemed by most Americans as something absolute. Yet it represents rather the various local forms of a phase of international style which our more sophisticated builders accepted belatedly just before 1700 and out of which the leaders of American architecture were passing about the time of the Revolution. More accurately the Colonial was, as its name implies, a series of literally *colonial* reflections of contemporary English architecture, delayed about a generation in crossing the Atlantic, and hardly more refracted from metropolitan London standards than building in the outlying regions of the mother country. Yet to us it *does* seem a single national style, to many even the only truly national style, subsuming all the successive types of design from the simple Late Stuart work of 1690 through the more academic Palladianism of the mid-century, and extending well beyond the actual close of the politically colonial period at the Revolution. Most indeed, would carry the Colonial up to the Greek Revival in the thirties; and those who talk of "Southern Colonial" mansions, which were often built as late as the forties and fifties, even through the Greek Revival to the Civil War.

This is still the popular understanding of the Colonial. But a growing sophistication in terminology has sought with some success to distinguish at least the chief alternative manners and to relate one of them to the parallel stage in English stylistic development by reserving the word "Colonial" for the earlier, simpler and more autochthonous work — which has been thereby the less effectively set apart from the work of the seventeenth century — and by substituting the term "Georgian" for all the more elaborate work which closely follows English patterns. Moreover, the historically more accurate "Post-Colonial," "Federal," or "Early Republican" are now used by careful writers for the work done between the Revolution and the Greek Revival, the very work which is most parallel to what in England is usually called "Georgian."

The term "Queen Anne," which in England best covers work of the type produced in America between 1700 and 1740, with us specifically refers to the picturesque manner of the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century; while "Late Stuart" has for us almost no meaning at all. The rather pedantic attempt of people like myself to label the eighteenth century Colonial as "Provincial English Late Baroque" has had no success whatsoever.

Those who wish to follow the story of eighteenth century architecture in all the details which the productivity of a prosperous age and a remarkably high proportion of extant remains permit must turn to Mrs. Downing's three chapters in *The Early Homes of Rhode Island*, 1937, in which she discusses with a wealth of illustration and an admirable command of documentation: "The transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries," a subject remarkably well illustrated in Rhode Island; "The early eighteenth century style;" and "Rhode Island Architecture of the mid-eighteenth century."

These paragraphs, and of course the plates which they accompany, deal with two topics only: the remarkable series of eighteenth century buildings by known designers which Rhode Island preserves; and the continuation and development, despite many surface modifications, of the dwelling house type of the previous age.

Seventeenth century American building, like most English building before the time of Inigo Jones, was anonymous. Craftsmen may have been particularized in the community, but the business of building was at once the business of every man and also more or less of the community as a whole. Hence there were no individuals whose position was in any way parallel to that of later architects; and almost no buildings show marks of having been designed by particular individuals. This condition still remained almost the same in the eighteenth century for the majority of building. Yet certain men whose names we know devoted themselves particularly to architectural design; and while not one of them was in any sense a professional architect, their services were nearly equivalent to the services of many contemporary architects of this period abroad.

Rhode Island in the eighteenth century gave its most important architectural commissions in succession to three of these men, who therefore, despite their amateur standing, rank among the first architects of America. Munday in the twenties and thirties, Harrison in the next three decades, and Joseph Brown in the seventies and eighties practiced architecture much as similar builders, amateurs, and scholars were doing in the provinces of England: Their characteristic work must be considered not as autochthonous or independently developed — its relation to earlier American tradition is wholly technical, not at all a matter of design — but as the production of English subjects who happened to live and build beyond the seas. The clients of these designers, as much as themselves, were still very much Englishmen culturally as well as politically. Hence the patterns of architecture desired by the rich naturally came, as did their clothes, from London, however slow the communications may have been. In the case of Harrison and Joseph Brown we can indeed distinguish the very plates in eighteenth century English architectural books that they found useful. Moreover, since all their work dates from after 1714 when the last of the Stuarts gave way to the Hanoverians, it is not historically inaccurate to call the general style in which they worked English Georgian, except that the English prototypes of Munday's work belong chiefly to an age up to half a century earlier, when the Stuarts still ruled. That fantom period, "Charles III" (*sic*), in which an early Hollywood star is said to have decorated her bedroom, might provide a not inappropriate name for the manner in which Munday and the men before 1750 worked.

Munday presumably was born in America. He first appears in the records as an innkeeper, when he married in Newport in 1713. By 1719 he was a house-carpenter as well; and in 1722 of sufficient material substance to be a voter. His first documented work of architecture is Trinity Church, Newport, begun in 1725. It is unlikely that he had begun working as a house-carpenter early enough to have had anything to do with the important Rhode Island buildings of the preceding transitional age. The remarkably rich Late Stuart panelling painted to imitate marble in the Joseph Reynolds house in Bristol, dated 1698, is almost unique in America; but hardly relevant to Munday's style as we know it (Plate 4). The approximately contemporary Wanton-Lyman-Hazard house in Newport he must have known well; but certainly he never worked on it. The Micah Spencer house, with interior detail comparable to that in the Joseph Reynolds house, was probably built between 1715 and 1720, and therefore within the known period of Munday's active life in Newport: there is, however, no reason to attribute it to him. The same may be said of St. Paul's Church, built at Tower Hill,

Narragansett, in 1707, — but moved to Wickford in 1800 — which is still in the form of a seventeenth century meeting house, even though it was Anglican (Fig. 4).

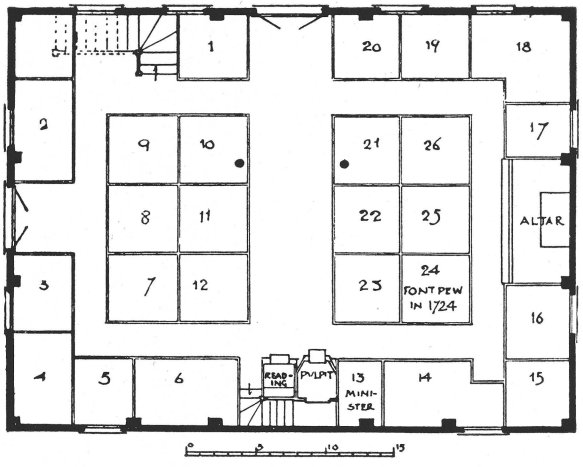


Figure 4. St. Paul's Church, Wickford, 1707. Plan. From Isham, TRINITY CHURCH IN NEWPORT, *1936.*

On the other hand it would be tempting to attribute to Munday the destroyed Jahleel Brenton house, built in Newport in 1720 (Plate 5). This is one of the first great mansions in this rich and important seaport in which the developed academic plan of central hallway, four rooms and two chimneys was used; and its interior panelling, now preserved in the Museum of the School of Design, is not only of remarkably handsome character but definitely later in style than that of the houses mentioned above. The doorway, as Mrs. Downing has pointed out, resembles somewhat that of Trinity Church built by Munday five years later. The symmetrical facade, the tall and narrow sash-windows, the pilastered portal, the massive hip roof — distinguished like so many Newport houses of this age by a gable on top — the pedimented dormers, are all characteristic marks of that anglicized Palladian style introduced by Inigo Jones in England at Chevening almost a hundred years before, and developed by the school of Jones after the English Civil War. Only the wooden stud construction filled with brick — one wall, however, was of stone — and the exterior sheathing of wooden clapboards really distinguished this house from the English masonry houses of comparable size that were built in large numbers during the previous generation or two in the mother country; and even the wooden construction and the weather-boarding can be matched in Essex, though not in houses of comparable elaboration of design.

Whoever the designer of the Jahleel Brenton house may have been, it is certainly not to be considered anonymous in the same sense as the houses of the seventeenth century were or even the majority of those built in the eighteenth century. It is, indeed, a more finished and sophisticated work than the first Newport houses whose designers' names are documented, the Challoner house of 1735 by Benjamin Wyatt (Fig. 5), and the Ayrault house of 1739 by Munday and Wyatt.

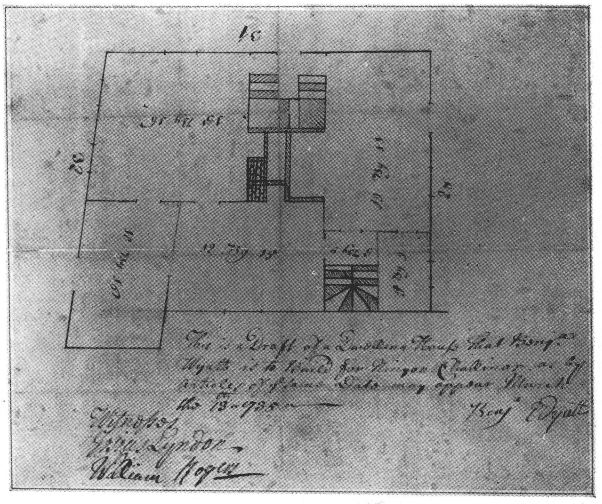


Figure 5. Original plan of the Challoner house, Newport, 1735. By Benjamin Wyatt. (Provided by Fiske Kimball.)

The first Trinity Church in Newport was built in 1702; and by 1725 the Anglican community had already outgrown it. The new church which Munday built is based on Christ Church in Boston, which in its turn was developed from plans of one of Sir Christopher Wren's churches obtained from London. Christ Church was in brick, Trinity in wood; and hence it is even less English in character. But certain details which differ from Christ Church suggest that Munday, or some one associated with the building of Trinity, knew Wren's London churches at first hand. St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. James's, Picadilly are the Wren churches which Trinity most resembles in the interior (Figs. 6, 7). The tower, copying that of Christ Church, goes back ultimately to Wren's St. Lawrence Jewry in London.

Despite its wooden construction and its relative simplicity Trinity is not, particularly as regards the interior, very far removed from its London prototypes (Plate 6). Comparison with even an Anglican example of the eighteenth century American meeting house like St. Paul's, Wickford (Fig. 4), makes evident the churchly character of its long

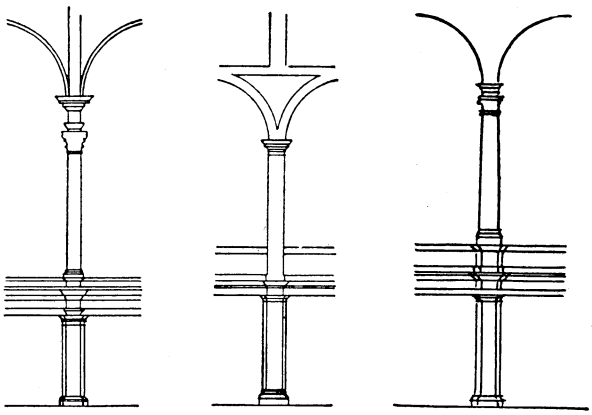


Figure 7. Pier systems of Wren churches. a. St. James, Piccadilly, London; b. St. Andrew's, Holborn, London; c. St. Andrews-by-the Wardrobe. From Isham, TRINITY CHURCH IN NEWPORT, *1936.*

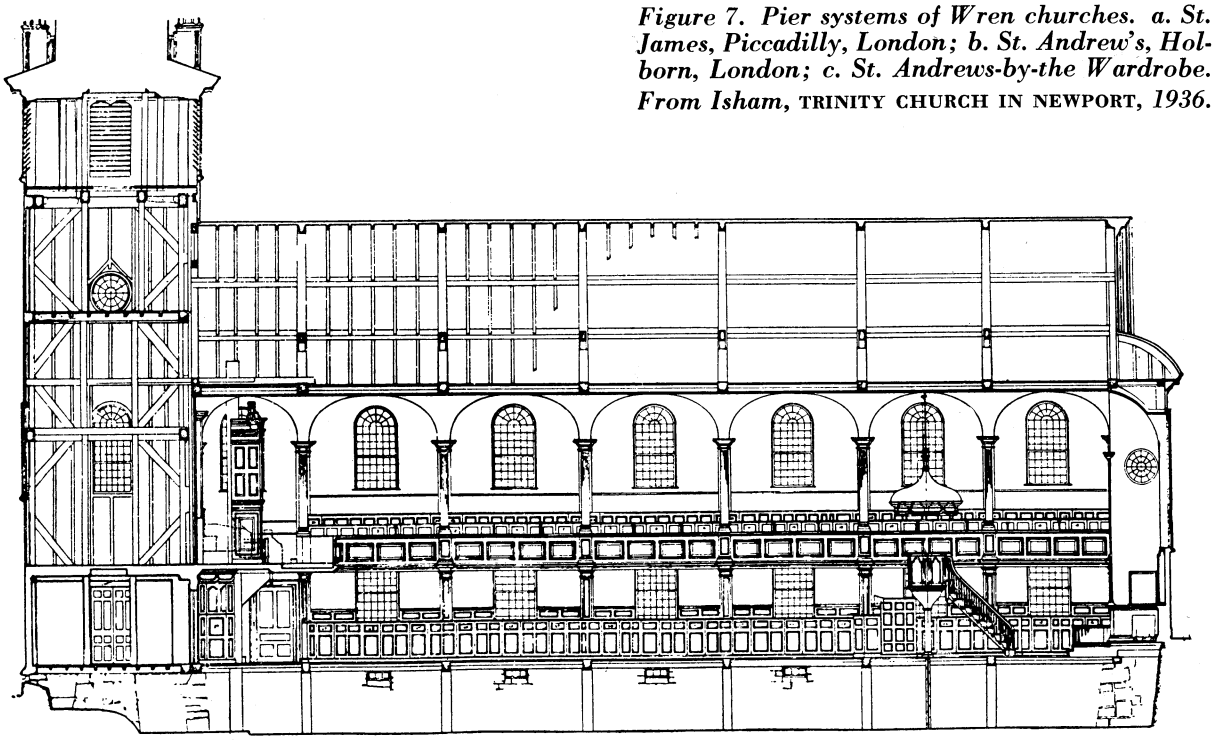


Figure 6. Trinity Church, Newport, 1725-26. Longitudinal section. From Isham, TRINITY CHURCH IN NEWPORT, *1936.*

oblong plan with nave and side-aisles and coved ceiling as well as the very architectural membering of its piers (Figs. 6, 8). The

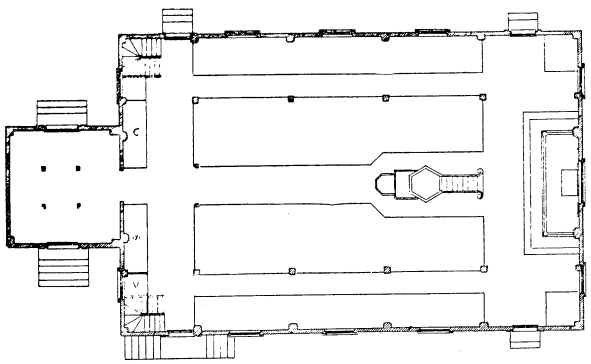


Figure 8. Trinity Church, Newport 1725-26. First plan. From Isham, TRINITY CHURCH IN NEWPORT, *1936.*

lightness of the spire design gives obvious expression of the wooden construction; but the general mass of the church, like that of the Jahleel Brenton house, is sturdy and even heavy. The very naiveté of some of the details on the exterior increases the impression of stone design translated into wood, rather than of wood used naturally as wood. The Sabbatarian Baptist Meeting House, now the home of the Newport Historical Society on Touro Street, was built in 1729. Although entirely different in plan, the rich interior detailing is so similar to that of Trinity as to suggest that Munday was the builder. And in 1731, when we know he was in Bristol, he was probably responsible for the balconies added in that year in St. Michael's there.

But Munday's masterpiece, his latest and most original work, is the Colony House in Washington Parade, built in 1739, the year of his death (Plate 7). Of this Henry James wrote in the *American Scene,* 1907: "Some things indeed, clearly, had been better than one knew, and now seemed to surpass any fair probability: else why, for instance, should I have been quite awestruck by the State House that overlooks the ancient Parade? — an edifice, ample, majestic, archaic, of the finest proportions and full of a certain public Dutch dignity, having brave, broad, high windows, in especial, the distinctness of whose innumerable square white-framed panes is the recall of some street view of Haarlem or Leyden. Here was a charming impression of a treasure of antiquity to the vague image of which, through the years one hadn't done justice . . . "

James did the Colony House no more than justice. With its fine brickwork and brownstone groins and window dressings it might, as a work of the age of William and Mary or of Queen Anne, grace any English county town. But it has also a vigor and brusqueness of character which is certainly individual to Munday, and even general to the best American Colonial work as well. The original interiors have a similar distinction, the proportions truly civic, the panelling richer and more interesting even than that of the Jahleel Brenton house.

The Daniel Ayrault house which Munday contracted together with Benjamin Wyatt to build in this last year of his life is no more. The original specifications called for a central hallway and four rooms with two chimney stacks as in the Brenton house. In execution, however, the plan was simplified to the type inherited from the late seventeenth century with central chimney and five rooms, and is practically identical with that of Wyatt's Challoner house of 1735 (Fig. 5). The remarkably rich entrance hood, so completely English in character, is now on the Sabbatarian Meeting House at the Newport Historical Society. It is almost unique in America; but it was repeated, probably by Wyatt, on the destroyed John Wickes house in Warwick of 1745.

Certain very rich houses built in and near Newport in the forties, more like Munday's work than that of Harrison, are perhaps also the work of Wyatt. The sumptuous panelling in the Nicholls-Wanton-Hunter house of 1746, with its correct Corinthian pilasters and carved angel heads in the spandrels, is certainly only comparable in quality to that in the Colony House; and the mouldings, like those at the Sabbatarian Meeting House, were actually cut with the same planes as those in Trinity and the Colony House (Plate 8).

Munday, after his innkeeping days, was certainly a professional builder, if hardly a professional architect. But Peter Harrison, who followed him, was wholly an amateur. Munday was paid for his work we may presume; but except on one occasion Harrison was content with a gift of silver plate or a vote of thanks. Yet his architectural education was far more complete than Munday's and his contact with English stylistic developments so close that he was almost always quite up-to-date with the work of his generation at home. Thus, although Harrison arrived in Newport the year after Munday's death to assist his merchant brother and designed the Redwood Library but eight years later, in terms of English style there is rather more than the difference of a generation between Munday's late masterpiece and Harrison's wholly mature first work.

Harrison was born in England at York in 1716; but the rumor that he had in youth some connection with Vanbrugh must, I think, be discounted for reasons of date and style. At the Redwood Library there is no trace of Vanbrugh (Plate 9). Instead we have a remarkable exercise in the revived Palladian style which Lord Burlington was championing in reaction against the more Baroque manner of Vanbrugh. The design is derived from one of the garden temples built for Lord Burlington at Chiswick and other similar edifices which were reproduced in several eighteenth century architectural books. Indeed the building is much more advanced in style than Kent's "fabricks," because, except for the low wings at the front, it has wholly the form and proportions of a true Classical temple. It is even more advanced than a certain famous church project by Gibbs of which the all but true temple form is modified by two low side chapels or transepts and a chancel at the rear as well. The order, of course, is Roman and not Greek, and the temple form imperfect; but the Redwood Library may almost be bracketted historically with Stuart's epoch-making Doric temple built at Hagley Park in 1757, of which the details are Greek, but the oblong plan most incorrectly curtailed.

The original rear facade of the Redwood Library was copied, *via* English architectural books, from Kent's rear facade of Chiswick. The whole construction is of wood, but the imitated rustication of the walls, and the proportions of the detail are altogether stone-like, as their sources in Kent's and Batty Langley's books made inevitable. Thus, although the Redwood Library is a work of some significance in the general international story of the origins of the Classical Revival, it is hardly very American. For it is the work of a man who came to the Colonies at the age of twenty-four already equipped with some English training, and who always worked with a library of English architectural books at hand, upon which he depended for every line he drew. The wooden construction, the only American feature about the Redwood Library, is a total irrelevance in the design, and quite disguised by the sanded and stone-coloured paint.

Peter Harrison's next work, King's Chapel in Boston of 1749, is, indeed, of masonry and follows far richer English models than

Munday knew. And Christ Church, Cambridge, 1761, although of wood, is as completely masonry-like in design and detail as the Redwood Library.

The Brick Market in Newport, designed in 1760-61 by Harrison, had wooden detail, but it follows very closely Colin Campbell's plate of Inigo Jones' Old Somerset House in London. It is, perhaps Harrison's least interesting work.

The Synagogue of the next year, Temple Jeshuath Israel, however, is more original and altogether Harrison's masterpiece. As a characteristic work of the international Academic Reaction of the mid-eighteenth century in a rather unusual field it would be of unique distinction in any country in the world (Plate 10). Yet, as usual in Harrison's work, every detail can be traced to specific English sources in the plates of Kent and Gibbs and Batty Langley. It is interesting to compare it with the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, built a century earlier, which was indirectly influential upon the development of Wren's type of English church. The Newport Synagogue is smaller and less well-lighted, but it is also richer and suaver in the best manner of the mid-eighteenth century.

After designing the Synagogue Peter Harrison moved to New Haven as Collector of Customs. There he died in 1775, apparently without designing any more buildings. But in addition to his five recorded works it is tempting to attribute to him certain fine Newport houses of the period of his activity. The John Bannister house in Middletown has, for example, wooden rustication all over, and the special proportion of main storey and low attic above, like the front of the Redwood Library, rather than the conventional American proportion of two equal storeys. The Cozzens house in Middletown, also attributed to Harrison, has been destroyed; but the William Vernon house, of 1758, is certainly one of the handsomest academic eighteenth century houses to be found in America. The all-over wooden rustication, once sanded and painted stone-color like the Redwood Library, the hipped roof with platform rather than gable top, and the fine dignity of the cornice and the portal certainly suggest Harrison's hand (Plate 11). The interiors, with two types of wall painting later covered with panelling, form a sort of palimpsest difficult to untangle. But the stair hall is a worthy rival of that of the Nicholls-Wanton-Hunter house built a dozen years earlier.

The chief works of Joseph Brown, the third Rhode Island architect of the eighteenth century, are larger and more expensive than those of Peter Harrison, but they are neither so refined nor so up-to-date in style. Brown was like Harrison an amateur; but although he was one of the four brothers who dominated Rhode Island commerce and industry at the end of the eighteenth century, he was also, like Christopher Wren in England a century earlier, primarily a mathematician and astronomer.

His position as Professor of Philosophy at Rhode Island College, later Brown University, led to his designing the College Edifice on the Hill in 1770. More accurately, he served with two others on the building committee which selected the newly built Nassau Hall at Princeton as a model. Unlike most of the imitated "Colonial" buildings of twentieth century colleges, this is an almost wholly utilitarian structure, rather plainer than its model (Plate 12). The four storeys of brick with segmental arched windows regularly spaced are almost wholly unembellished; but there is a central pedimented projection and string courses at the floor levels, as well as an academic wooden cornice and a balustrade and even a simple lantern

on the deck of the roof. Academic design could hardly be further reduced to its essentials of solid mass, sound proportions and regular rhythm. The scheme, indeed, but for its more sophisticated hip roof, imitates almost the exact formula of the first textile mills financed in the nineties by Joseph Brown's brother Moses and the later mills set up in the early nineteenth century by other members of the family.

The Russell-Thorpe-Allen house, built on North Main Street in Providence in 1772, with its three storeys separated by string courses and its small plain monitor in the center of the hip roof, has a somewhat similar sobriety (Plate 13). There is, however, no reason to believe that it was designed by Joseph Brown. Indeed, its rubbed brick flat arches, and the handsome, dignified detail of the Corinthian portal (from a plate in Batty Langley's *Builder's Compleat Assistant*, 3d. ed., 1738) and of the modillioned and dentilled cornice of the correct Corinthian type are far closer to contemporary English practice than Joseph Brown usually came. The richness of the interior panelling, now in the Brooklyn Museum, is also of a more correctly academic order than that of the Newport houses of the mid-century.

Joseph Brown's next architectural work, the Market House in Market Square, on which he collaborated with Stephen Hopkins, was also originally rather rudimentary and even archaic like the College Edifice. Presumably the drastic restoration, now in progress, is intended to return it to the original, 1773, form with open arcade below and one storey above capped with a flat gabled roof and balustrade, as it was before the addition of the third storey in 1797.

Brown's own house, built in 1774 on South Main Street, is considerably more elaborate (Plate 14). But the curved pediment is altogether too Baroque for so late a date in England, belonging in spirit more to the age of Queen Anne that Munday's work echoes; while other details, exterior and interior, mingle the manner of the mid-century in America with the marks of the more rigid academic standard first set in Providence by the Russell-Thorpe-Allen house.

Brown's largest and most conspicuous work was the First Baptist Meeting House of 1775, on whose building committee he served with two others. Although sent to Boston to look at the churches there, the committee did not, like Munday, imitate their London models through an existing American intermediary. Instead they worked out their plans and elevations from James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture*, first published in 1728, of which Brown had a copy. Again the English models were of a period almost half a century earlier. The spire design was one rejected for St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in London, more suited in its delicacy to execution in wood than the heavier, more typically Baroque design which Gibbs executed in London; and superior, like Gibbs' other spires, to many of the more famous spires of Wren (Fig. 9). A French diarist wrote in 1780 that it was painted in different colours. This marblizing, in the tradition of the rich late seventeenth century interiors, such as those in the Joseph Reynolds house (Plate 4), must have given the church an altogether more festive and Baroque air than the chaste white paint that the post-Revolutionary period first applied (Plate 15). The difficult problem of executing the spire from Gibbs' plates was worked out by James Sumner, a master workman from Boston.

The body of the church was also drawn from Gibbs' book, but with more modifications (Figs. 10, 11). Originally it was quite square, in deference to the meeting house tradition (Fig. 12), but the scheme of coved ceiling and balconies intersecting the orders

Figure 9. Rejected design for the tower and spire of St. Martin-in-the-fields, London.
By James Gibbs, 1685-1754.
From Gibbs, BOOK OF ARCHITECTURE, *London, 1728.*

resembles the Marylebone Chapel in London as illustrated by Gibbs, and all the details came from Gibbs.

In comparison with Munday's Trinity of fifty years before, this is a much larger and more monumental work. It also follows more accurately the early eighteenth century London churches of Gibbs than Trinity follows the late seventeenth London churches of Wren. But compared to Harrison's King's Chapel in Boston, which is halfway between the two in date, it is definitely a less sophisticated and metropolitan work. Blanchard, the French diarist, remarked on "the temple, which is pretty large, although of wood . . . ," perhaps because, while any travelled European might well recognize the type, he would be unlikely to be impressed by much else about it beside the size and the material. Whereas an interested foreign visitor who had seen the Redwood Library just after its completion a quarter century earlier would have been so impressed by its remarkably advanced stylistic character and exquisite balance of proportions as hardly to notice that it was small and of wood.

The Revolution came just as the First Baptist Church was being built and building in the colonies all but ceased. Joseph Brown's last work, the large house at 52 Power Street was designed in 1786 for his brother John. John Brown was the chief merchant of Providence, of whom the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt wrote so patronizingly that what he had done in commerce "even in Europe would appear remarkable." The house, however, would hardly have appeared particularly remarkable at this date in Europe. But in America it had a justifiable reputation for magnificence attested to by many contemporary diarists like John Quincy Adams (Plate 16).

The house is of three storeys in brick with string courses at the floor levels like the

Russell-Thorpe-Allen house. But there are many embellishments which the earlier house lacks. The windows have brownstone lintels and keystones instead of the simpler and more elegant rubbed brick flat arches of the Russell-Thorpe-Allen house and of Joseph Brown's own house. The projecting entrance porch is an early example of that popular Post-Colonial motif, more useful but inferior in decorative effect to the earlier portals. The central bay also projects slightly, as on many large houses built outside Rhode Island in the mid-century, and is capped with a pediment set against the crowning balustrade. This pediment and balustrade detract somewhat from the solid effect of mass which the visible roofs give to earlier houses. Above the entrance porch is a Palladian window awkwardly set under a segmental relieving arch and breaking the even rhythm of the facade. The less elaborate northwest front is much simpler and finer. With the spacious grounds that rise toward it from Benefit Street this has, indeed, much the air of an English country house as the main facade does not.

The elaboration of the interior is even greater than that of the exterior (Plate 17). Many of the fireplace pilasters and engaged columns are of mahogany; busts stand here and there against the walls on pedestals in the form of shortened classical orders; but

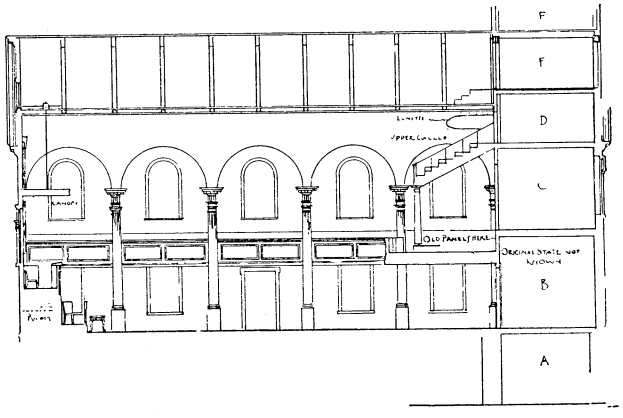


Figure 10. First Baptist Meeting House, Providence, 1775.
By Joseph Brown. Longitudinal section. From Isham, THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN PROVIDENCE, *1925.*

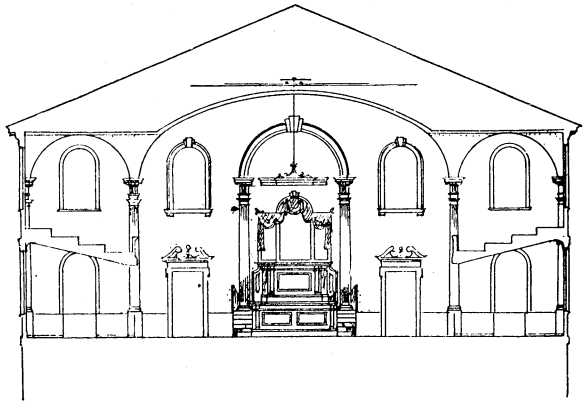


Figure 11. First Baptist Meeting House, Providence, 1775.
By Joseph Brown, Transverse section. From Isham, THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN PROVIDENCE, *1925.*

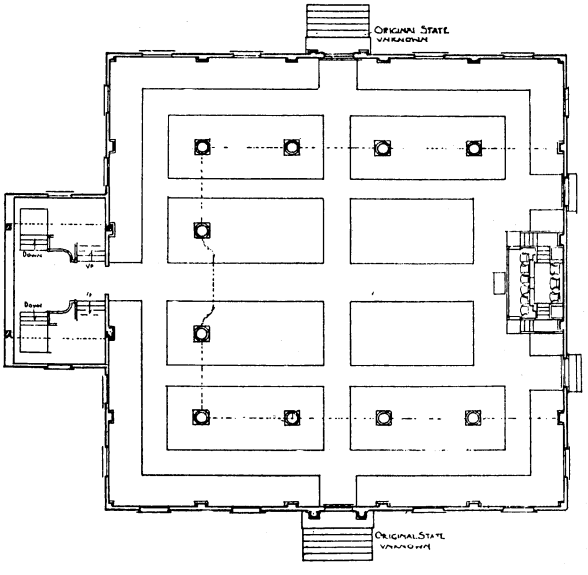


Figure 12. First Baptist Meeting House, Providence, 1775
By Joseph Brown. First plan. From Isham's THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN PROVIDENCE, *1925.*

the rococo plaster ceilings are the additions of a later owner. Except for the extreme elaboration, there is little that is new here and the house may well conclude this account of the work of the chief Rhode Island designers of the eighteenth century Colonial, despite its post-Revolutionary date. The other great Providence mansion of this period, the Nightingale house of 1792, across Power Street on Benefit, is essentially similar. It is of wood, and probably for that reason it is even more elaborate on the exterior than the John Brown house. But the style is no more advanced in relation to English practice. The designer was probably Caleb Ormsbee.

In summarizing the more ambitious eighteenth century Colonial architecture of Rhode Island, as illustrated in the work of Munday, Harrison and Brown, it is necessary to stress its lack of continuity with earlier American work and its close, though delayed, derivation from that of the mother-country. Munday's work is about a generation in retard from in its English prototypes, Harrison's rather less, but Brown's rather more.

Yet although such building set the pace in American architecture during the eighteenth century, it no more represents the whole story of the period than the later waves of European design which have flowed over America do the whole story of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But it is far harder to analyze and to illustrate the character of the more independent local tradition. We do not know the builders of the simpler edifices of the age and cannot easily group the houses by generations. Indeed, we often do not know even the dates. Moreover, in dealing with the modification, and also perhaps the decline, of a tradition as it was increasingly influenced by the more elaborate architecture which has just been discussed, there is almost no progressive development, but rather a gradual assimilation of more and more of the academic conventions.

The plan is a matter that lends itself to clear discussion. The houses we have been discussing were all of academic character, with central hall and four rooms, necessitating at least two chimney stacks, which were increased to four in masonry houses where the stacks could be put in the outside wall (Fig. 13). They were, therefore, symmetrical and appropriately designed with five open-

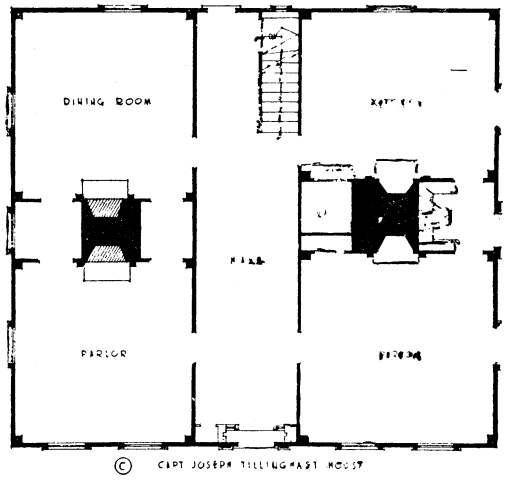


Figure 13. Joseph Tillinghast house, 403 South Main Street, Providence, 1767. Plan. From Downing, EARLY HOMES OF RHODE ISLAND, *1937.*

ings in the facade, the windows filled with double sliding sash. They were also always of two, and frequently of three, storeys; usually of masonry after the mid-century; and covered with hip rather than gable or gambrel roofs. They had more or less correctly designed cornices, pilastered and pedimented portals, and elaborate interior panelling and other woodwork, usually quite masking the underlying construction.

Curiously enough what are supposed to be the two earliest American house plan draw-

ings in existence, one by Benjamin Wyatt for the Challoner house of 1735 in Newport, the other by Wyatt and Munday for the Ayrault house of 1739, display a very different sort of planning inherited from the previous century and maintained in opposition to the academic plan well through the Colonial period and into the nineteenth century (Fig. 5). These extraordinarily rudimentary sketches, which indicate how completely building was still a craft and how little a product of formal "architectural" design, both show central chimneys, with a three-way stair in the tiny entrance in front, a large central room at the rear and two smaller corner rooms, one of which in the Ayrault plan projects slightly to form a rear wing. Neither of these houses is any more symmetrical than the five room houses of the late seventeenth century whose type they continue. This sort of plan, even when made symmetrical, as it generally was after the middle of the century, is less imposing than the academic type; but it is certainly of local American origin. It is also probably to be considered more efficient as well as more compact, particularly when asymmetrical. There can be no question that the greater variety of size permitted a clearer distinction between the uses of the rooms; and if the circulation was not so good as in the academic plan, there was less waste space and difficulty in heating. The superiority is especially evident in storey-and-a-half houses, in which the five room plan continued to be almost universally used until the Cottage Pattern Books brought really new ideas in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The construction of houses of the five room type was almost always of wood and not of masonry, usually with the main posts and beams visible; and covered with the traditional clapboards, often painted red or other strong colours rather than left to weather as in the seventeenth century. The chimneys were somewhat smaller and always simpler than in the seventeenth century, but there were more and larger windows. At just what time the general shift from casement to double-hung sash windows took place is not clear. That extraordinarily archaic edifice, the Elder Ballou meeting house in Cumberland, built just before 1747, is not only even more purely functional in design than such a large seventeenth century meeting house as the Old Ship Church at Hingham, it also originally had leaded casements. But even in the smallest houses and the simplest religious edifices, such as those built by the Quakers in Lincoln and Newport and Providence, the substitution of the new type of sash must have proceeded not later than a generation after its introduction in the great mansions. By the mid-century the day of the casement was over until it was revived by the Romantics of the nineteenth century.

This change in the windows was a technical advance rather than stylistic mimicry. But the frequent elaboration of the doorways with pilasters and pediments and the eaves with cornices was conscious aesthetic embellishment. It was to be seen also at the fireplaces and in the other woodwork of the interiors. Thus in at least two cases in the mid-century, the Joshua Babcock house in Westerly — asymmetrical in plan but not on the facade (Fig. 14), and the Rowland Robinson house in Saunderstown — a 1710 house enlarged and embellished in 1755, two-storey houses of the five room type displayed rich interior and exterior trim comparable to that of the great Newport mansions. These two also have gambrel, instead of hip roofs, as indeed does the Nicholls-Wanton-Hunter house in Newport also. Moreover, from the thirties many houses, which were still markedly asymmetrical like the Ayrault house, had rich portals and mo-

dillioned cornices; and in the last third of the century only very simple rural dwellings were without some sort of academic embellishment.

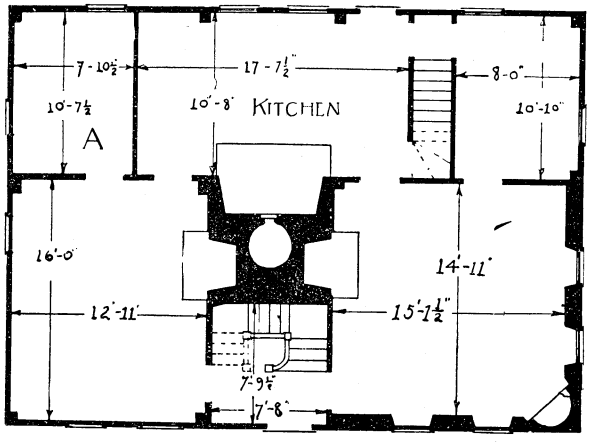


Figure 14. Joshua Babcock house, 124 Granite Street, Westerly, 1750. Restored ground plan. From OLD HOUSES IN THE SOUTH COUNTY OF RHODE ISLAND, *Colonial Dames, 1932.*

Comparing the eighteenth century five room house of a storey and a half or two storeys with the early one and two-room houses built before 1690, it is evident that the size was universally greater, the chimneys somewhat more efficient, and the windows larger and more frequent (Plates 18, 19). All of this represents a natural technical development of an established type owing little or nothing to the academic standards of the larger houses. The construction remains on the whole similar, although somewhat less frankly expressed; but the embellishment, while in many cases no more conspicuous than a hundred years earlier, is increasingly an extraneous element, unrelated to the local tradition or to the local materials and methods of construction. For the portals and cornices snobbishly imitate at third or fourth hand metropolitan styles of the mother country already several generations out of date. This rustic-academic detail, of course, is not as absurd as this description makes it sound; but it has on the other hand usually been overlauded for its quaintness and its unwitting originality.

There was a justification for the use of academic design in the cities which were not dissimilar in the character of their life to the provincial cities of England. But there was little justification for academic embellishment on the simpler farmhouses, except that of a sort of perverted democratic principle which claimed for the simplest the privilege of being belated slaves of fashion like the rich merchants. The independence of the country did not diminish but rather exaggerated the tendency to extraneous ornamentation of ordinary houses. It was only with the construction of the mill villages at the opening of the nineteenth century that domestic architecture returned to a path comparable in functional efficiency and unembellished purity of design to the types of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. In these villages it is characteristic that the larger foremen's houses have the elaborate Post-Colonial detail of the new age as the workers' cottages do not.

It would be extreme, on the basis of such an analysis of the eighteenth century Colonial as this, to claim that there was already established a sharp and special dichotomy in American architecture which has continued ever since. Academic design in the more expensive reaches of American building following imported styles can in all periods be distinguished from the natural functional autochthonous development. The latter, moreover, has always emphasized technical advance and good workmanship and minimized, but not altogether excluded, embellishment belatedly imitated from European sources. Such a dichotomy, however, is at least as evident in Rome in the first centuries of our era as in the centuries of America's

existence; and similar analysis would find parallels in almost every country and period.

Furthermore it is not evident how the more conspicuous and symbolically representative monuments of architecture can altogether avoid some sort of positive standard of design for which an unconscious vernacular is inadequate. It is unnecessary to claim that Joseph Brown should have built the First Baptist Church like an enlarged Elder Ballou Meeting House; but it is not invidious to suggest that he need not have borrowed all its more important elements from the plates of one English book already almost fifty years old. For public or monumental architecture in the mid-twentieth century not the style of Munday and Harrison, but their approach to the problem of style still has validity. Our models, of course, should not be the same as their's; but until another original American genius like Wright appears, we doubtless must still seek much of our inspiration in contemporary works of high international style. We may be proud if our standards fall no lower than the late seventeenth century standard of Munday's Colony House and the mid-eighteenth century standard of Harrison's Redwood Library.

This is the patriotic lesson we may learn from the study of our eighteenth century heritage and not the blindly and supposedly "nationalistic" one of copying in the twentieth century our ancestors' copies of English copies of Italian copies of ancient Roman models.

III. THE EARLY REPUBLIC. 1790-1830.

IN the eighteenth century Colonial two architectural levels can be distinguished: that of the serious amateurs who designed like provincial Englishmen; and that of the great mass of vernacular building which was in large part a continuation of established local traditions of plan and construction, merely embellished with detail echoing more academic forms. In the following period, which in Rhode Island runs from about 1790 through the first generation of the new century, it is necessary to recognize three stylistic strata. Of the topmost, represented most clearly by the Capitol and the White House in Washington, there are almost no examples in Rhode Island. In the Colonial period Newport and Providence were in a provincial relationship to London, but hardly to other American cities. Now Boston and Philadelphia, New York and even Washington were definitely more metropolitan than the Rhode Island cities.

The most ambitious stylistic tendency of the age, the Classical Revival, initiated and sponsored by Jefferson, crystallized first in his work in Virginia and then in the new edifices of the national capital in Washington. It found almost equally vigorous expression in the other metropolitan cities of the period at the hands of foreign-trained amateurs like Bulfinch and of professional architects from abroad like Haviland and Latrobe. But in the work of the chief Rhode Island professionals of this period we find echoes of, rather than close parallels to, the most advanced work of such men. This is as true of the public edifices as of the mansion houses which were built in such profusion in Providence, Warren and Bristol during these decades.

The most monumental and the most classical Rhode Island building of the Early Republic was Caleb Ormsbee's First Congregational Church, erected in 1795 and burned in 1814, but known to us from drawings and models. Ormsbee, who was probably the designer of the already mentioned Nightingale house built in 1792, acquired Joseph Brown's copy

of Gibb's *Book of Architecture;* but he recognized, as Brown had not done in the seventies, that Gibbs' Baroque style was out-of-date. The First Congregational Church, with its tall Roman Doric portico and rather simple twin towers, followed closely the model of Bulfinch's Hollis Street Church in Boston of 1788. The wooden construction and the delicacy of the detail made evident that it was American; but the Roman Doric order and the general severity and blockiness of form relate it to such a European late eighteenth century church as Chalgrin's St.-Philippe-du-Roule, or even to the European-trained Latrobe's Baltimore Cathedral, the finest Classical Revival church in America, begun two decades later.

But John Holden Greene's church, which replaced Ormsbee's in 1816 after the fire, and his earlier St. John's built in 1810, although they are both inspired by Bulfinch churches in Boston, are not related in the same way to the dominant international Classical Revival standards of the age. St. John's is Gothic, at least in intention, but like Bulfinch's Federal Street church of 1809, which it follows in the main externally, it belongs still to that whimsical mid-eighteenth century "Gothick" associated with the names of Batty Langley and Horace Walpole in England (Plate 20). The interior, which has a shallow dome within a square plan like Bulfinch's Hollis Street church, has rather charming delicate clustered piers supporting the dome at the rear, although the piers at the other end are Doric; and once had balconies whose fronts were decorated with almost Venetian tracery, all in the manner of Batty Langley and other eighteenth century purveyors of "Gothick" detail for gazebos. But if the detail be somewhat irrelevant and inconsistent, the space composition is excellent, and the way in which the old balcony fronts once repeated the line of the dome was a stroke of genius. The Gothic was still for a generation to permit freedoms that the Classic did not, and even to encourage an expression of volume as opposed to mass and a whimsical inventiveness in detail well suited to American materials and methods of workmanship. The same qualities are equally evident in the treatment of the exterior, and even more perhaps in the ambitious two-storey plaster-vaulted vestibule.

Greene's other church, the First Congregational, also has some Gothic detail on the exterior; but it is unhappily mixed with the more prominent Classical forms, and the tower is capped with a spire of almost Gibbsian elaboration. The model was Bulfinch's Federal Street church, perhaps, but the amalgam of styles was never properly fused. Yet the interior, again a shallow dome — this time oval — over a rectangular plan, has considerable grandeur as a space composition, marred though it be by the dry and mincing Classical detail (Plate 21). The church was in its day a success, and Greene repeated it with some modifications for the Independent Presbyterians in Savannah, Georgia.

Turning to the houses of this period, many of the most elaborate of which are also by Greene, we find in general a similar confusion and provincialism of style, for which, perhaps, a generic explanation should be offered. Greene and his generation used architectural books for inspiration as Harrison and Joseph Brown had done before the Revolution; but the books they used were somewhat different. Before 1775 there were no American architectural books. Builders and amateurs sought and found their models in English publications. In 1775 the first American architectural book was published, Abraham Swan's *The British Architect.* This was a reissue of a book first

published in London in 1745. All but one of the other architectural books that came out in America through the year 1800 — there were about a half dozen — likewise consisted of English material, most of it already several decades out-of-date. In other words these American books did not offer the new repertory of the rising Classical Revival style, such as the Americans and Europeans who received their training abroad brought back to America with them. Moreover, the existence of books published in America tended to discourage the importation of new English books. Hence, Green and his contemporary Russell Warren were in a sense less well provided with architectural literature than their predecessors had been.

The Revolution tended somewhat to cut the cultural ties with England. A rising French influence, on the other hand, is evident in Jefferson's thought and work; and the great houses built in the metropolitan cities around 1800 show much evidence of French planning. But of this there is almost nothing in Rhode Island.

The appearance of the books of the first American architectural author, Asher Benjamin, all but drove pirated English works on architecture from the scene; and within the period with which we are dealing two more American authors — one of English birth — appeared in the market. But Benjamin was a New Englander, his books were published first in Greenfield, Mass., and then in Boston; while Biddle and Haviland were Philadelphians. Not unnaturally it is the influence of Benjamin's books in Rhode Island which complements that of the work of the Bostonian Bulfinch. Bulfinch was an amateur in the eighteenth century tradition of Harrison and Joseph Brown, but thanks to his extensive foreign travels he was far more thoroughly trained than they. He was able therefore to develop a personal style which was both distinguished and individual. His chief buildings are not unworthy of comparison with the somewhat casual work of the more advanced and intellectual Jefferson or with that of such a thoroughly trained foreign professional as Latrobe. But Bulfinch's Rhode Island imitators naturally reflected chiefly the more immature and retardataire elements in his personal style.

When we come to the influence of Benjamin it would be excessive to say it was a case of the blind leading the blind. But Benjamin was a carpenter-architect like Greene and Warren themselves. Until toward the end of the period with which we are dealing, when he began to illustrate "Grecian architecture" in his books, his standard models of detail — for he offered very few plans or facade designs — were the late eighteenth century Roman orders. He provided also a repertory of the delicate classicistic ornament which is associated in England with the names of Adam and Wyatt, rather ingeniously translated from the original plaster and stucco into terms of white pine and of contemporary American carpenters' tools. The phrase "Carpenter Gothic" is expressive enough for such non-classical detail as Greene's and Warren's; except that the delicacy is such as to make "Cabinet-maker's Gothic," with its suggestions of Chippendale's "Gothick" furniture, almost more appropriate. The classicistic detailed published by Benjamin in the *Country Builder's Assistant*, 1797, 1798, 1800, 1805, in the *American Builder's Companion*, 1806, 1811, 1816, 1820, 1826, and in the *Rudiments of Architecture*, 1814, 1820; and the similar detail invented by Greene and Warren or borrowed by them from these books is quite as certainly "Carpenter's (or Cabinet-maker's) Classic." It often has charm and originality; but there is almost always too much of it.

It is, moreover, so underscaled to the buildings on which it is used as to appear fussy and frivolous on exteriors and dry and thin in interiors. By comparison the "Gothick" detail of Greene, which he used in some profusion not only on his churches but on the Sullivan Dorr house of 1809 (Plate 22) and in other places, and the similar "Gothick" which Warren used with real virtuousity on the library wing of the George DeWolf house (Plate 23) has a balance of naiveté and refinement that is quite delightful. It is superior to most English Gothic detail of these decades of transition between the Rococo Gothic of the eighteenth century and the archaeological Gothic Revival of the late thirties. Indeed, it is superior even to most of the Rococo Gothic itself, at least as we see it today, tawdry and shameless in decaying stucco.

It is natural in this period to discuss the detail first: there is so much of it, not only on the great mansions but even on the smaller houses, and it is so different from the massive stone-scaled detail of the earlier Colonial period and the later Greek Revival. Furthermore there were in Rhode Island few important innovations in the planning of the larger houses. The academic scheme, with central hallway and four rooms, was in general use still (Fig. 14); and although a few houses had side wings, like the Southern mansions of the eighteenth century, very few made use of the curved rooms and circular projections of French inspiration which are so conspicuous in the mansions in the more metropolitan American cities. Of the new row house type of plan, something will be said below.

The Edward Dexter house of 1799 is of wood like the Nightingale house of seven years earlier. It is also extremely ornate on the exterior, with pedimented windows, quoins at the corners, projecting porch, eaves balustrade and balustraded monitor. The exterior detail is not as yet very delicate in scale, but the interior woodwork has a thinness and dryness which the plain plaster walls and the absence of the earlier panelling only serve to emphasize (Plate 24). More interesting are the large oblong niches opening out of the chief rooms and suggesting at small scale the interest in space composition that appears in the churches (Fig. 15).

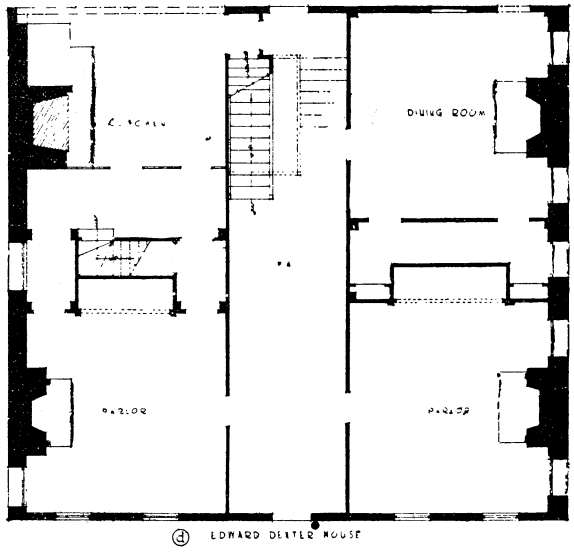


Figure 15. Edward Dexter house, 72 Waterman Street, Providence, 1799. Plan. From Downing, EARLY HOMES OF RHODE ISLAND, *1937.*

The Thomas Poynton Ives house of 1806 is quite different; indeed it lies rather outside the Rhode Island manner of the period (Plate 25). Of three full storeys of brick with semi-circular porch and continuous eaves balustrade, it resembles closely the great mansions of contemporary Salem: for it is reserved rather than ornate, and the detail is of a delicacy almost too exquisite for exterior work. It had, moreover, on the ground floor to the right one of those curving bows (now carried the full height of the house) which are characteristic of the houses of Boston and Philadelphia.

The plain surfaces of this house, the skillful disposition of the openings, lend it a sophistication rare in Rhode Island in this era of often vulgar ostentation. For vulgar ostentation seems not too strong a term for many of the ornate interiors in the Warren and Bristol houses of this decade and the preceding one. But it would be unjust thus to characterize a house which is perhaps John Holden Greene's finest, the Sullivan Dorr house of 1809 in Providence (Plate 22). For this has, both inside and out, some of his finest Gothic detail, and a composition as clear and well disposed as that of the Ives house, but more interesting and original because of the raised center section. Additions to the right have unfortunately somewhat marred the fine original silhouette.

By this time Americans were conscious that they were building differently from the English; and although their wooden construction was still rather solid, already it was perhaps more like our later light wooden frame construction than the heavy English type introduced in the seventeenth century and only gradually modified. Thus the lightness and apparent thinness of the walls of this house are only in part a reflection of international stylistic tendencies. For this new character represents also a conscious attempt to achieve in wood a quite different sense of scale than is appropriate to masonry. Owen Biddle in 1805 had subtitled his *Young Carpenter's Assistant*, "a system of architecture, adapted to the style of building in the United States." Asher Benjamin the next year, outbidding Biddle, called his new book "*The American Builder's Companion; or, A new system of architecture particularly adopted to the present style of building in the United States of America.*" Such titles were not mere blurb. Houses like the Sullivan Dorr house, far more than the monumental Classical Revival buildings in masonry of the metropolitan architects, indicate that there was by this time a "present style of building in the United States of America," differing from that of other countries and differing almost as markedly from that of the preceding Colonial age.

"Linden Place," the George DeWolf house in Bristol, built the next year by Russell Warren is not so satisfying as the Sullivan Dorr house. Its exquisite Gothic library (Plate 23) — almost as interesting for its octagonal plan as for its detail — is much superior to the general design, which awkwardly combines the new light scale with a monumental two storey portico. Several of Warren's other less elaborate houses are better, such as the William DeWolf house at Poppasquash with its flat boarded facade and side wings.

Of great elegance, however, is the Charlestonian two-storey porch added in 1812 to the slightly earlier Carrington house in Providence (Plate 26). The contrast between the plain three storey mass of brick, like that of the Ives house, and this light and refined forestructure is almost as effective as that obtained in some cities at this period with balconies of iron work set before plain brick walls.

The Grant-Tyler house by Greene, now destroyed, serves as an example of a slightly smaller house built in the third decade of the century. It has the usual delicacy and elaboration and a certain neat compactness which is less evident in the large mansions (Plate 27).

The desire for compactness led also to the development of a new type of plan. The row house plan is plentifully represented in Providence by houses of the first three decades of the century, often the work of Greene, Warren or their peers. Although actual row houses with party walls were not

frequent in Providence until the thirties or forties, the new type of plan may properly be called the row house plan, since it derives from the row houses introduced into England from Holland in the seventeenth century. Real row houses with party walls were in rather widespread use in metropolitan cities like Boston, Philadelphia and New York by this time. In the row house plan the entrance at one side leads into a narrow stair hall, while the other two-thirds of the main block of the house are occupied by two large rooms one behind the other. The more urban type usually had the dining room and kitchen in the basement; but isolated houses, of which more and more were built along these lines as the nineteenth century wore on, could easily have side projections to provide for a dining room behind the stair-hall, and rear wings for the kitchen and other offices. The row house type came into its own only with the Greek Revival after the period of the Early Republic was over. Then the temple portico, so often used even on small houses, masked the asymmetry of the facade, and the gable end toward the street fitted neatly into the Classical pediment formula. Alas, on the earlier examples the intricate detail of sidelights and fans at the doorway is conspicuously off-center and the type in isolation is clearly a makeshift. It is on such smaller houses that the detail characteristic of this period is likely to appear most pretentious; and although the development of a new type of plan, less complex and more elastic than the academic type, was of real significance, it hardly came to fruition until later. Yet some of the Providence examples, with hip roofs and monitors like the large houses of the day, provide even at this period excellent testimony to the possibilities of the type. They are for one thing more truly domestic in scale than the later temple houses.

It is not so easy to summarize the story of this period as of the preceding periods. Indeed, it is perhaps even more important than in the case of the earlier sections for the interested reader to turn to the fuller account which Mrs. Downing offers in the fifth and sixth chapters of *Early Homes of Rhode Island.* The last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth saw a vast amount of building, most of it elaborate and pretentious. After the War of 1812 there was rather less. Furthermore the growth of Providence has wiped out more of the prominent houses built between 1812 and 1830 than of those built before the War. A national consciousness in architecture appeared, which is as evident in the titles of Biddle's and Benjamin's books and the houses of Greene and Warren as in the ambitious plans for the Capital City. But the breakdown of the provincial relationship with England must not be thought to have been at all complete, and the increasing cultural distance from London was not in Rhode Island balanced by any diminishing cultural distance from Paris and the Continent.

Thus those who call the work of this period still Colonial, or more accurately, Post-Colonial, have a great deal of justification. The ties with the mother country were weakening; but the increasing cultural independence of the States appears in architecture quite as much in the form of stylistic retardation as in the form of positive native originality. Furthermore, outside of the metropolitan cities democratic ideas were levelling architecture down as much as up. This meant in Rhode Island, for example, that the vernacular on the one hand was less interesting and vigorous than it had been, and on the other that works of high style of the order that Harrison had produced in the mid-eighteenth century were fewer. Nor must the eclecticism and the aesthetic irresponsibility

of the period be forgotten, soon to be given over for the rigid discipline of Greek Revivalism. For this eclecticism already augured clearly enough the typical nineteenth century stylistic confusion of later decades which the Greek Revival only dammed up for about fifteen years.

But if we look outside the field of the single dwelling and that of public monuments like churches, to which this section has been devoted, we find the rise of new architectural types, the embryonic forms of the commercial architecture and the industrial architecture which have been in the twentieth century the most conspicuous fields of American achievement. So important is the early industrial architecture, as represented in the mills themselves and in their attendant villages, that the next section is devoted entirely to them. For it must not be ignored that while the magnates were building the houses that have just been discussed for their own use, their capital was equally responsible for the building of the textile villages. A balanced view of the Rhode Island architecture of the period of the Early Republic must certainly give full credit to the extraordinary accomplishments in this new field.

Rhode Island was not yet primarily an industrial state. The fortunes that built the mansions of Warren and Bristol, and most of those in Providence as well, came like the fortunes that built the earlier Colonial edifices of Newport and Providence, from shipping and commerce. The docks, particularly of Providence, were once lined with warehouses and other commercial structures. Of these only a few remain today from this period in recognizable form. Such commercial building was in masonry for protection against fire, solid, neat and plain, domestic in scale, regular in design, and quite unembellished. It does not represent so striking an innovation as the first mills and mill villages. For in general interesting structural developments in this field, as well as more impressive design, belong to the following age of the decades after 1830.

Two commercial edifices still extant deserve, however, particular mention. John Holden Greene's Franklin House, dated 1822, now incorporated in the complex of the Rhode Island School of Design, has much of the quality of the contemporary warehouses, with some detail of the sort on Greene's mansions, and the trapdoor monitor so typical of the early mills. But the essentially functional design and construction, for all the greater neatness and mechanical smoothness, is not so very different from that of Joseph Brown's College Edifice of 1771. Greene's other Providence hotel, the Bristol Hotel of 1824, across Main Street on the north side of Market Square, is quite remarkably different from any other Rhode Island structure of the time (Plate 28). For it is essentially a monolithic granite skeleton filled with larger and more frequent windows than ordinary masonry buildings. Thus it looks forward to the metal skeleton developments in commercial architecture in the middle decades of the century which ultimately led in Chicago to the skyscraper. The monolithic type of construction and even the minutiae of design, more related to the work of Soane in England than to that of Adam, are actually derived from a contemporary Boston model. Greene had looked to Boston and to the churches of Bulfinch for his standards and his inspiration in the previous decade. Now he looked to Boston and to the buildings with which the rising architect, Alexander Parris, was flanking his Quincy Market, an edifice already Greek Revival in the severity of its design. Parris' identical light skeleton facades of granite contrast as markedly with the heavier and plainer brick warehouses nearby, which have been attrib-

uted to Bulfinch, as does Greene's Bristol Hotel with his Franklin House.

But in the main the period of the Early Republic in Rhode Island architecture represents, for all its productivity, a transition between the Colonial age and the period of truly national architectural achievement which was opening. The houses and even the churches look backward to the age that was past far more than they look forward; but the industrial and commercial architecture leads on without a break into the exciting decades of the mid-century.

IV. EARLY INDUSTRIAL ARCHITECTURE. 1790-1830.

AMERICA is not distinguished above other countries for the monumental architecture of its public buildings nor for the distinction and amplitude of its country seats. It is in three fields that our achievement is surest and most widely recognized: our industrial architecture, our commercial architecture, and our suburban middle-class houses. In evaluating American contributions to modern architecture we point to the houses of Frank Lloyd Wright, the skyscrapers of Sullivan and Hood, and the factories of Albert Kahn as the finest and most characteristic things we have to offer the world.

There are in Rhode Island some excellent examples of twentieth century factory building, but nothing to vie with such famous masterpieces as the Ford plant at River Rouge, Michigan. There is properly speaking but one skyscraper, and that owes its interest more to the way it forms the apex of the city silhouette of Providence than to any intrinsic qualities. And while there are excellent examples of houses of all periods, the particular decades of Wright's early apogee at the opening of the twentieth century is least effectively illustrated. But if Rhode Island lacks striking work in the fields in which America has led the world in the twentieth century, it is unique in America (and possibly in the world) in rich remains of early industrial architecture. There are mills of all periods since the late eighteenth century, many of them still in an excellent state of preservation. There are also remarkable mill villages from as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century which must be among the first, and are certainly among the best in the world.

In an age like our own, when the problem of mass housing is a central architectural theme, these early communities are particularly interesting and cogent. The question of their absolute priority, which can hardly be settled in the absence of studies in other areas here and abroad, is of less consequence than of their unusual excellence. But as the textile industry grew up in England, after the very first, chiefly in settled areas where the entrepreneur took no responsibility for housing, and as Rhode Island was the birthplace of cotton manufacturing in America, the probabilities are very great that in the Pawtuxet valley are preserved the earliest textile villages of company houses in the world. Cotton manufacturing entered the Pawtuxet Valley in 1794, but the earliest extant houses must be the two which remain at Lippitt presumably built at the same time as the mill there in 1809. Other industries may perhaps have built company houses before this time, at least there are in Chelmsford, Mass., houses built in connection with a glass plant in 1805. But from this profitless discussion of priority we must return to more vital premises.

The concept of industrial architecture will appear to many a relatively new one. Even those who are ready to recognize the significance and even, in a sense, the "beauty" of the greatest modern factories, automatically assume that the industrial building of the nineteenth century in factories and in mill housing was all on the extremely low level of amenity which makes the manufacturing districts of most cities which expanded in the late nineteenth century as purgatorial as the notorious English areas in which modern industry was born. Rhode Island, as one of the most heavily industrialized states, has its full share of such districts. It must seem, therefore, almost absurd to seek for "architecture" in such cities as Woonsocket and Pawtucket. Yet even in these places, which in the late nineteenth century grew to resemble the worst industrial towns elsewhere, there are handsome and well preserved examples of the earlier types of mill, and in outlying areas where the industry sought the water courses in open country there remain whole communities of mills and mill houses in something like pristine condition.

Technical and social conditions set textile manufacturing in Rhode Island apart from that of other areas. The Middle Atlantic area has not as yet been studied and to judge from the Bancroft plant and village outside Wilmington, Delaware, it may have resembled Rhode Island. But the Merrimack area, where the story of the industrial architecture of Lowell is now being investigated in detail, was very different. Here the introduction of textile manufacturing came over a generation later, and the improved processes of manufacturing developed by F. C. Lowell led to larger and more complex mill groupings from almost the beginning. But Lowell's "Waltham" process was protected by heavy patent royalties and so the Rhode Island mills continued to use the earlier "Arkwright" process. Hence the old mills were in general not much enlarged and new mills followed rather closely the old lines. Furthermore there was a shortage of labour when the Rhode Island mills were established and, as they were built along water courses in unsettled districts, it was necessary to build houses to attract families from a distance and even from abroad. Child labour was employed from the beginning and hence individual houses were needed to hold, however compactly, the large families. Later the development of the textile industry itself had begun to leave many women without employment on the farms who had earlier been busy with spinning. Therefore the company housing at Lowell and in the Merrimack area generally consisted chiefly of boarding houses for the single women who were drawn to the mills as operatives. After the Civil War boarding houses made their appearance in Woonsocket, but for the most part down through the seventies the mill villages of Rhode Island consist of single-family or multiple-family houses, with an increasing tendency toward the latter as time went on.

The operatives who were drawn to the Rhode Island villages were largely native, with an important element from the British Isles. Other foreign immigrants did not come in any quantity until after the Civil War; the first French Canadians settling in Woonsocket in 1861. What has been said of the cotton textile industry applies almost equally to the woolen and worsted industry, although the latter made somewhat earlier use of steam power. As the railroads brought in cheap coal and made manufacturing independent of water power — as it had been for over a generation in England — they also served to concentrate industrial development. Strategically located groups of mill villages tended, like Woonsocket, to grow

into loosely urbanized areas in which housing standards went to pieces. Worse, mills were moved into old ports and commercial towns where the transportation facilities had their termini. In these established cities an amorphous labor supply already existed and into them the new non-British foreign immigration poured. As regards the Rhode Island region, the worst of this later development fortunately took place outside the state in Fall River and New Bedford. For in these larger industrial towns, as distinguished from the isolated early communities, there was rarely any thought of housing standards. Indeed, rising land values had already made economically impossible in the estimation of the age anything but slum conditions for the labouring class. Moreover the growing agglomerations of population aggravated preexisting conditions of congestion and planlessness quite as it had half a century earlier in England. Thus from old commercial centers, or ports, or even groups of early mill communities like Woonsocket, there developed what may plausibly be called, in both senses of the word, the new "hives" of industry.

As we interest ourselves today in *early* industrial architecture, we must realize that "early" means something different in this field from what it means as regards other phases of building, covering a period down through the Civil War, and even in some cases well beyond. Moreover an assertion of the excellence of *early* industrial architecture does not deny the existence of that dark age of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which the enormous slum areas of factories and tenements were built which remain our chief architectural shame. But in Rhode Island the vitality of the small isolated mill village lasted longer than was generally true in New England. This was partly due to the retention of the simpler "Arkwright" process, and to the specialization in high class production, as well as to the related fact that immigration in this area consisted largely of the more skilled labour which came from the British Isles, at least down to the Civil War. There is in Rhode Island much good work as late as the seventies and eighties.

It is impossible to discuss all the technological and sociological elements which are the context of the early textile mills and mill villages of Rhode Island. Some of them are implicit in the preceding paragraphs. But it should at least be said that they were not the result of philanthropic or aesthetic preoccupations on the part of technicians like Slater or capitalists like the Browns. Solid mills were built, usually of masonry after 1810, because they represented a large investment and as partial protection against the very serious danger of fire. Of course the interior structure was of heavy timber, not unlike that in earlier barns and meeting houses, to carry the weight of the machinery.

Houses were built in groups because they were all needed at once when a new mill was started or an old mill enlarged. They were built alike because it was obviously, even with handcraft construction, the most efficient thing to do; they were near the mills because that also was most efficient; and they were frequently built without streets before each row because walking was the only means of transportation available to the operatives. The broad spacing was natural because there was no shortage of land on open country sites; and the houses were well built and well maintained — as they frequently are not any longer — because like the mills they represented a permanent capital investment and also a drawing card in obtaining labour when labour was relatively scarce.

It is well to point out that the early entrepreneurs were not disinterested. The amen-

ities had propagandistic value. The development of manufacturing was not favoured by all classes in the community. Therefore as a contrast to the horrible image in the public mind of the conditions existing in the textile areas of England, the magnates were conscious and proud of the superiority of their new communities as an argument in favour of local manufacturing.

The complete patriarchal domination characteristic of the life in these communities, the lack of religious and educational facilities, the long continuance of child-labour are aspects which must not be neglected in the total picture; for these unfortunate sociological aspects have a relationship to those qualities in the early industrial villages which seem to us today most excellent. Moreover, the class differentiation evident in the larger and more ornamented foremen's houses and in the occasional mansions of the mill-owners makes plain that the ordinary mill houses did not represent in the eyes of the age any exceptional equalization of living standards. Finally we can but observe the tragic fact that most of these mills are empty today and many have been destroyed; while the houses, no longer units in a functioning economic community, are in many cases rapidly deteriorating. It may soon be too late to study them.

Small lumber and metal industries existed in Rhode Island even before the opening of the eighteenth century; but essentially the business of Rhode Island was agriculture and trade until the start of the cotton textile industry at the end of the eighteenth century. The first important textile mill was an old fulling mill remodelled by Samuel Slater in Pawtucket in 1789. This no longer exists; but the second Slater Mill of 1793 is still preserved as a museum (Plate 29). It differs very little from the simpler building types of the day. The end seen alone might be taken for a large eighteenth century farmhouse, except for the curious trap-door monitor in the roof; the projecting wing with its belfry might well be the front of a country meeting house. As the industry began to spread other wooden mills were built, for the most part, like that of 1810 at Hope, of equally domestic character.

But the Lippitt Mill of 1809 in the Pawtuxet Valley, five storeys tall and with a long clerestorey monitor breaking the roof, introduces a new scale larger than that of contemporary dwellings or meeting houses (Plate 30). The detail however remains the same: the windows domestic; the belfry meeting-house-like. The workmanship is as solid and finely finished, simpler and less pretentious than that of most other architecture of the time. The Lippitt Mill is, indeed, directly in the line of the soundest American seventeenth century building tradition as the elaborate carpenter-Adam houses and churches of the period are not.

Two cottages only, of effectively the same date as the mill, remain of the original village at Lippitt. They have the qualities so generally admired in the simple farmhouses of the eighteenth century; and, despite the deterioration of the community today, the imagination readily pictures what this village must once have been, with a long row of such houses at the feet of the towering mill. Further up the Pawtuxet Valley, where the mills are mostly either later or else destroyed, we can still see in a state of remarkable preservation two of the finest remaining mill villages at Harris and at Fiskeville, and others almost as interesting at Arkwright and Hope. Their cottages widely spaced on ground rising from the river, these villages seem at first sight the present-day creation of some sentimental utopian rather than the production of hard-headed entrepreneurs in the rough youth of capitalism. With no more detail

than the mills, but with an equal justness of proportions and elegance of finish, they may readily appear as the "Early American" answer in the field of the minimal dwelling to the European "*machine á habiter.*" But before we agree that the salvation of American mass housing might lie in merely copying them, picket fences and all, it is well to investigate the problem a little more realistically (Plate 32).

The plans, consisting of front parlour and living kitchen, or even living kitchen alone, with bedrooms at the rear, and other bedrooms (with windows at the ends only) in the half storey above, are certainly not impossible for twentieth century use. But they are inelastic and ill-ventilated, even damp and dark beneath the superb old trees — that crowning glory which the modern builder can hardly hope to provide in short order. If we look a little closer the idyll is further destroyed. Behind the Harris houses are privies, one to a house; in the middle of the Fiskeville group is a well-head, the only source of water for the little community — if that runs dry, the river is nearby. Then if you ask, you will find your surmises are correct: no plumbing, no running water, and furthermore no central heat and no gas or electricity. To make these houses habitable according to the minimum standards of today all these machine elements or products would have to be added. They must equally be introduced into the largest and most sumptuous eighteenth century houses if they are to be habitable today; but in them there is room and the scale of the rehabilitation is not out of relation to the scale of size and original cost of the architectural shell. But in these minimal dwellings, though they are the finest of their day, there is little or no room to add anything; and as to the economic scale, the weekly rent at present is less than the monthly cost of the utilities would be if installed. Unless we are willing to accept habitations such as these without any machine elements, we must utilize in some form the concept of the *machine á habiter* for the minimal dwellings of the present.

But we need not therefore discard our desire to emulate these villages as wholly sentimental and impractical. There is much, after all, to be learned from them. They consist of elementary and barely varied types — a few are double, some houses have two storeys, but the total effect is neither barren nor monotonous (Plate 33). Of course the trees help, and modern builders probably realize this, although they are less ready to spend money on planting than on frivolous and ineffective embellishment of their small houses. But the open spacing, the regular lines, the skilful relation to the sloping site that permits one row of houses to look over or through another at Harris and at Fiskeville, even the exclusion of through roads, the cul-de-sac character of the grouping, are all things we can emulate with some hope of achieving a comparable clarity and organization of the general form, of what has been called the super-block.

It is interesting to compare these early villages with what is perhaps the best example in Rhode Island of modern group housing, the Levy development at Glendale. The trees are there also, even a sort of cul-de-sac general plan; but the slope is not so well used, the grouping is neither so simple nor so orderly; and above all the houses, for all their simplicity, are too varied, so that the whole does not compose visually into a super-block. It is too much the usual American suburb, a cluster of superficially individualized, though essentially identical houses, too many of one size and too near together to have much interest singly, too differentiated and too irregularly placed to have visually effective unity as a group.

In general these early villages were built in conscious avoidance of the conditions in English textile towns. Yet the superb stone cottages in the group at Fiskeville (Plate 34), where most of the houses are nearly identical with those at Harris if perhaps slightly earlier, may perhaps have been thus built for the use of British operatives. This is even more probably the case at Georgiaville, where some of the stone cottages that go with the 1813 mill are grouped in little courts in a very un-American way. But until after the Civil War the use of masonry, which became general for mills around 1810, was unusual in the villages. In other places the types of houses vary somewhat more, with more multiple dwellings, less openness of general grouping, but the essential tradition maintained itself surprisingly long. Some of the villages, moreover, had blocks of stores, as at Slatersville (Plate 46), or even a church as at Georgiaville (Plate 51), of slightly different and more solid construction but equal excellence. Post-Civil War villages, like the long street leading down to the 1870 wing of the mill at Hope (Plate 43), show the superficial stigmata of later more sophisticated style, just as the White Rock houses of 1849 have simple Greek Revival porches (Plate 36). But the mansards at Hope and their dormers give better height and light and ventilation to the bedrooms; and the detailing is as clean, if slightly coarser, as that on the 1810 cottages there. Other late examples in the Blackstone Valley, like the Nourse Mill village off Clinton Street in Woonsocket (Plate 41), are of masonry construction with thickened brick piers between the windows, quite like the later brick mills. If solider, these are also clumsier. Yet were they wider-spaced and in open groups like the earlier villages instead of in rows along streets (and also as well maintained as the wooden houses must be if they are not to deteriorate) they might be almost as good models for our age, not to imitate, but to emulate.

We left the discussion of the mills themselves with the mention of the earliest wooden examples. Wooden mills long continued to be built, and some at least, like the post-Civil War Hamilton Web plant at Hamilton, have virtues of larger fenestration and more elastic grouping which the early ones had not. Even the mansarded towers, so frequent in the seventies and eighties on wooden and masonry mills alike, are as defensible, for accent and terminal, as the little open cupolas of around 1800. At least they do not appear irrelevantly ecclesiastical.

Most mills after the opening years of the nineteenth century were built of masonry, of rubble or coarse granite ashlar until the seventies, when the substitution of brick eventually led to a new industrial type which was more efficient perhaps and generally better lit, though visually less attractive. Thanks to the capacity of the soft brick for absorbing grime, these are nowadays grimmer and less ingratiating than those of wood or stone. An early example of the use of brick, with the beginnings of the thickened piers between the windows which give an almost skeleton effect to late nineteenth and early twentieth century factory construction, is the White Rock mill of 1849 (Plate 35).

The earliest stone mills were still small and domestic in scale like the Butterfly Factory of 1810 on the Great Road in Lincoln and the small mill which is now the Esmond Post Office. But the mill of 1813 at Georgiaville (Plate 31) is as large and almost as tall as the Lippitt mill. Although this has still the early trap-door type of monitor, the belfry is better scaled and simpler. It is interesting to contrast this admirable example of the first quarter of the century with the larger and more monumental mill there of 1853 (Plate

37). With its pedimented central projection and corner pilasters and two front blocks this has something of the grandeur of a baroque palace and the solemnity of Greek Revival public buildings, despite the added top storey which today cuts so awkwardly into its handsome pediments. We know that Bucklin, the chief Greek Revival architect of Providence, designed many mills; and this mill has enough of the quality of his Washington Buildings of 1843 (Plate 44) to justify an attribution to him.

Most of the mills of the Romantic period have some stylistic touches, Greek, or Romanesque, or Italianate. And if the Romanesque mills with their Lombard campaniles seem slightly ridiculous — there is one on Manton Avenue in Olneyville, probably designed by Tefft — the simplest Greek forms are generally used with great success as in the wooden detail of the tower of 1836 Lippitt Woolen Mill in Woonsocket (Plate 32) and the belfry of the Governor Harris Manufactory at Harris (Plate 38), while Italianate forms ornament with little less success and propriety the belfries of the 1841 mill at Hope and of the 1865 Granite Mill at Harrisville. There are even effective castellated towers as on the Hamlet Mill of 1862 in Woonsocket (Plate 39).

The earliest stone mills of the first quarter of the century remain almost as domestic as the first wooden mills, and cognate in character with the other architecture of the Early Republic, except that they are simpler and solider. In the twenties larger and more massive mills began to be built, of which the 1826 mill at Slatersville and the 1828 Geering mill in Woonsocket are among the first examples. Down through the sixties the type did not change very much although the size generally increased. But the mills were still built as relatively simple oblong units, and even where new mills were built beside older ones as at Georgiaville, or later wings were added as at Hope or at the Lippitt Woolen Mill in Woonsocket, there was little of that confusion and congestion of rebuilding and addition which has almost completely swallowed up the early industrial architecture in the Merrimack region. It is probable that the "Arkwright" process did not permit the effective use of ramified and complex structures. But whatever the reason may have been, there is no question that the amenities of the textile communities were better preserved in Rhode Island — and also in Connecticut, where conditions were very similar in the textile industry — than in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

We are not particularly concerned here with late nineteenth century developments, which in any case generally took place in cities and thus have not the extra-architectural virtues of the mills in isolated valleys. An interesting example from the very end of the period of early industrial architecture, however, is the 1870 section of the Lippitt Woolen Mill in Woonsocket (Plate 40). Here the wide bays, the heavy brick piers and the granite spandrels already provide a semi-skeleton type of construction much better lighted than the early stone mills, and the mansard roof with its dormers makes the attic more usable than even a high clerestorey monitor (Plate 38). One may also feel that the oblique angle of the roof echoes not ineffectively the chamfered corners of the mass, even though the grimy brick is less agreeable than the rubble and painted wood of the 1836 section of the same mill.

But the relation between the typical early stone mill construction and later types can best be seen in the Woonsocket Falls Mill at the Falls in Woonsocket, as well as the sort of congestion and confusion which is characteristic of later industrial areas (Plate 42). The old stone building to the right here, of

about 1850, is not of remarkable excellence for its type and is certainly ill lit; but the tall building of brick mill construction, of a generation or more later, is evidently an excessive load upon the site and altogether graceless and grim, without approaching the efficiency or the lightness and openness of the ferro-concrete building of the last decade on the left. Perhaps, indeed, disregarding the danger of fire, the most effective section of this whole complex is the wing to the extreme right with masonry ends and many windows in a wooden side wall. Of this the date is difficult to determine.

The old stone building here preserves its wooden tower, with simple Greek Revival detail like that at Harris (Plate 38), but it has lost its original roof, of which the pitch can, however, be determined from the lines against the tower. Many other early mills have lost their pristine proportions of mass by the cutting down, or more frequently as in the 1853 Georgiaville Mill (Plate 37), the raising of the old gabled roofs to a flatter pitch. The low pitch of the roof of the 1841 Hope mill may be original, as the flatter type was introduced in Manchester, New Hampshire, in the forties. But in general flatter roofs came only with the seventies and in Rhode Island French roofs seem to form a transition between the old and the new types. Really flat roofs come only with the twentieth century. Gable and even mansard roofs are an important visual element in the "style" of early industrial architecture. Where they have been changed the authenticity of appearance is as profoundly modified as that of seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture by changes in the window sash.

This discussion of the mills and mill villages of Rhode Island is necessarily rudimentary and superficial, omitting all consideration of technical questions. It is also frankly aesthetic and visual in approach. The justification of such an attitude lies partly in the fact that investigation of the field has barely begun and cannot properly find a place in a brief general account of all Rhode Island architecture. But even more important is the fact that while these monuments, both mills and mill villages, have rarely been looked at for their architectural virtues, as have the other buildings of Rhode Island's past, they are actually more valid today as ideals toward which we in the twentieth century might hope to strive than the more famous and elaborate buildings discussed in the two preceding sections. It is hardly necessary to stress that they can only be emulated in principle and not imitated in detail. But the importance of industrial architecture and mass housing is so great today that we badly need such ideals; and if we can find them in our own past rather than abroad they should have the greater sentimental power to stimulate us to new achievement. Urban industrial slums are inexcusable today. New housing without thought of the place of employment of the workers is but a makeshift solution of the problem. Decentralization of industry is now proceeding apace. But magnificent as many of the newest factories are no provision is generally made for housing the workers. Integrated communities, such as Harris or Hope or Georgiaville once were — alas, they are mostly dead today —, are what we must hope for in the future.

These early communities, however, were not samples of industrial paradise. They could hardly have existed but for the patriarchal control of the managing directors, the feudal domination of absentee capital. The vision they offer us of happier conditions of industrial labour is partly illusory and any attempt to regain the ideal must be rigidly controlled economically and even politically. But the ideal, for all that it is primarily sociological, even aesthetic, is not necessarily beyond practical realization.

V. THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY. 1830-1870.

THE story of capitalized Architecture in the mid-nineteenth century is quickly told. According to the conventional plot the Greek Revival, triumphant about 1830, is soon followed by the Gothic Revival. Then the Gothic, after the Civil War, is forced to share the field with the style of the French Second Empire. Finally the panic of 1873 rings down the curtain on the greatest American building boom before that of the last decade. This is a tale not only far too simple and clear, even its own terms; it also fails to account satisfactorily for a great deal of the most interesting building done during four remarkably productive decades.

The men of the late nineteenth century and of the early twentieth merely shut their eyes to this period as if it had been an adolescence whose wild oats were too shocking even to consider. We can do so no longer; particularly as many are now coming to delight in, even to recreate exactly those aspects of the mid-century which were a generation ago most decried. Are we to have a Victorian Revival? I hope not. But the pattern of curiosity and sentiment of the mid-twentieth century in its increasing fixation upon the nineteenth is following very closely the pattern of the Gothic Revival in England in the eighteenth century and of the Colonial Revival here in the nineteenth. These changes of taste, which are perhaps a peculiarity of the last two hundred years — the Renaissance must have been a rather different matter — recall Pope's lines about vice:

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen,
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

We have passed the stage of enduring and pitying the Victorian, let us hesitate before we embrace it. But above all let us be sure, ere we see it too oft, that we see it clearly and that we become familiar with more than the superficial beguilements of its face.

The previous section dealt with mills and mill villages ranging in date down through this period. For in that field of building there is no sharp break with the preceding age. The later mills of the sixties and seventies, even if they have French roofs (Plate 40), are no more Second Empire than their predecessors of the previous decades were Greek (Plate 37) or Gothic (Plate 39). The conventional plot fits no longer once we leave limited field of capitalized Architecture. We may correctly suspect that the Revivals, the successive and rival "styles," are but the Victorian "face" which some are already but too prepared to embrace.

Outside of industrial architecture, and developing parallel with it, the most important aspect of the mid-century in America was its commercial architecture. Like the industrial architecture it grew easily and naturally out of the existing building tradition and eventually in Chicago in the eighties came to new birth in the skyscraper, obviously one of the greatest achievements of America in the modern period. We will not find in Rhode Island important steps in the pre-history of the skyscraper; and even echoes of the more novel types of construction are not very conspicuous in this period or the next.

But from the Bristol Hotel of 1824 (Plate 28), which was discussed in the third section, through the Washington Buildings of 1843 (Plate 44) to the Lyceum Building (Plate 45) of 1865 and Butler's Exchange of 1872, Providence once displayed a series of buildings of an interest comparable to that of the sequence of nearby mills. Their surface

styles are less vital than their changing types of structure: their true aesthetic significance lies in elements more fundamental than the patterns provided by the Revivals.

The Washington Buildings were the work of an architect as prolific in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as Greene had been in the first. James C. Bucklin, who received his training as an apprentice to Greene, was responsible alone and in partnership with Warren or Talman for all the largest and finest buildings in Providence from the Arcade of 1828 (Plates 47, 48) through the Butler Hospital of 1846 to the big Italianate business blocks of the fifties of which the extant Howard Building is typical. In his early work he led the older Warren into the Greek Revival. In the late forties he launched the precocious Tefft as a designer on the Romanesque Union Depot (Plate 55); and he was also the builder of many textile mills and other factories. Greek in style in the late twenties and thirties, he turned to Mediaeval and Renaissance forms in the forties and fifties, but he was rarely betrayed by his eclecticism. His buildings are all solidly put together, quietly designed, and distinguished by a dignity and sobriety which is as rare in the immediately preceding period as in that which was to follow. The increasing confusion of styles and types as we pass through the middle decades of the century is such that we must be profoundly grateful for any link, like Bucklin's name, that brings together a group of the diverging architectural threads. But the qualities that are common to all Bucklin's work are due to the fact that he came to maturity with the Greek Revival, and his finest buildings were built in the period of fifteen years that began with the Arcade and ended with the Washington Buildings (Plate 44).

These buildings, now unfortunately destroyed to make way for the Rhode Island Hospital Trust, were only three storeys tall, but the scale was monumental rather than domestic and the whole block was held together by the bold pilasters and pediment in the middle of the eastern side (Plate 44). The granite skeleton constructions of the Bristol Hotel was used only for the ground storey. The windows set in the smooth brick walls of the upper storeys under plain granite lintels were very large and absolutely regularly spaced. Except for the pediment in the center, the only embellishments were the panels in the balustrade around the top, which lent a broader rhythm than that of the fenestration.

The Washington Buildings were an unusually large and splendid example of Greek Revival commercial building. But they were typical of the new scale which came into urban architecture at this time. Pediments and orders were little used in this class of work except for occasional major accents or on semi-public edifices. Stylophily, or the love of columns, was really under better control than in the preceding period. The discipline of the Greek Revival encouraged, however, a more mathematical simplicity, a slightly heavier detailing and a remarkably pure sense of proportion. Much work of this general character remains in Providence. The more rural examples, such as the block of stores at Slatersville (Plate 46), have a charm of their own and an amazing straightforwardness because of their ruder and more elementary execution.

The next step in the development of commercial architecture in America was taken by Bogardus in New York; but it soon spread to other cities. Cast-iron posts had already begun to replace solid interior partitions of masonry or posts of timber when, in the late forties, Bogardus first offered buildings wholly of cast-iron. Interior structure of cast-iron, with wrought-iron cross beams

from the mid-fifties, soon became ubiquitous in urban building, and cast-iron facades only slightly less so. But in Providence, indeed, in all Rhode Island there are, so far as I am aware, no cast-iron fronts earlier than the sixties. After the Civil War there were several interesting examples of the cast-iron facades. The most charming of these is the Lyceum Building of 1865 (Plate 45). The delicacy and elegance of the design is obviously very close to that of the Bristol Hotel built of granite forty years earlier (Plate 28), and contrasts with the solid, heavy commercial buildings of the fifties, like the Howard Building, with their brick walls and heavy Renaissance trim of brownstone.

Butler's Exchange, built in 1872, was a larger and bolder example of cast-iron construction. But if its skeleton members were more clearly articulated, their corrupt classical forms and the high, pavilioned mansard roof illustrated only too well the characteristic coarseness of taste of the boom period which is so completely absent from the Lyceum building of seven years earlier. In some ways Butler's Exchange, like many commercial buildings in other cities built in the early seventies, was structurally more advanced than the first skyscrapers of the eighties; but the unprotected iron would have crumpled in the heat of a conflagration, as similar buildings actually did in the great Boston and Chicago fires of this period.

In general through the years between the Civil War and the panic of 1873 exterior walls remained of masonry, usually of brick as in the earlier decades, but sometimes of brownstone, when the Victorian taste for the rich and somber found full expression. The general use of interior supports of iron permitted more open and elastic planning, and on the street floor cast-iron columns made possible still wider shop windows than did the monolithic granite piers of the Washington Buildings. The detailing of the ironwork, as has been mentioned in the case of Butler's Exchange, was generally coarsened and tortured in form like that of the stone embellishments of the upper storeys. But commercial building hardly sunk much lower than did monumental architecture, while it carried within it the saving grace of structural innovation.

At the opening of this period, around 1830, the Greek Revival inspired the design of many public buildings in America which have rarely been equalled in dignity and distinction. The best of these in Rhode Island is Bucklin's Providence Arcade of 1828 (Plate 47) of which Russell Warren built the somewhat inferior Weybosset Street facade. In the contemporary print the grand scale of Bucklin's superb Westminster Street portico rises absolute and international between its earlier Post-Colonial neighbors. They appear domestic and provincial by contrast almost as its present neighbors appear cheap and inconsequential today.

But if the exterior of the Arcade be that of a public monument, the interior is simpler and more ingenious by far than other commercial edifices of the decade. (Plate 48) Nor is it without graceful embellishments. The fine detail of the iron balustrades certainly deserves the tribute of tactful repair and a coat of paint. Alas, the present age, which can be moved to emotion by the plight of houses hardly a decade older than this, has allowed the Arcade to go almost to ruin, at the same time defacing it with absurd clocks and other advertising indignities. Providence has here something worthy of London or Paris. But the chances are that it will be utterly destroyed before general appreciation, already warming to more picturesque aspects of the nineteenth century, comes to its rescue, — not let us hope to restore these rows of shops in a merely senti-

mental way as an historic monument, but to clean them up and use them again for the commercial purposes for which they were intended.

Beside the Arcade the other temple-porticoed edifices of the second quarter of the nineteenth century are rather dull. Bucklin's Doric Manning Hall of 1833 at Brown is heavy and coarse; his Ionic Westminster Presbyterian Church was remarkably correct in style and distinctly impressive, even though wholly conventional (Plate 49). Village churches, like that at Slatersville with its Doric columns and short plain lantern resembling those on contemporary mill towers, are more appealing. Such a really rustic example as the Chestnut Hill Baptist Church at Exeter, on whose facade panelled piers replace Greek columns and all the detail is simplified almost beyond recognition (Plate 50), illustrates the extraordinary powers of design that American carpenters, trusting themselves more than the plates in Benjamin's books, sometimes possessed in the forties and fifties.

Even where the sacred peristyle was preserved there was considerable modification of the proportions of the orders. The widely spaced, slender three-storey Doric columns of the Tockwotten House look very graceful in front of the great solid white mass of the hotel; and those of the Old Stone House at Woonsocket are little more conventional. The capitals on Warren's Shepard house of 1840 in Providence are almost Egyptian, and instead of having a free standing portico, this facade is composed in advancing planes, more like a Roman Baroque church than a Grecian temple. There were other houses of more or less pure temple form, however, like Russell Warren's destroyed M. A. DeWolf house of 1835 at Poppasquash. This had pediments front and back, a full scale academic plan and one side wing. Among the smaller temple houses of row-house plan, the Simmons house in Thornton, also of 1840, had a side wing, while the Cooke house at Cumberland Hill had the more usual wing at the rear. But although there were many row-houses, there were not as many temple houses as in other states. Moreover the handsomest Greek houses were not of the temple type. A sumptuous mansion like Elmhyrst at Newport (Plate 51), with its curious syncopation of intercolumniation and fenestration and its unusual attic, attains an originality, for all the correctness of the Ionic order, rivalling that of the rural Exeter Church (Plate 49).

The Greek Revival had in all about two decades of favour. For in the forties various rival styles began to threaten its universal dominance. In 1847 James Bucklin built the Butler Hospital in a Gothic style, not like that of Greene's houses and churches a generation earlier, but in a quite well understood domestic Tudor manner. The considerable plausibility of Bucklin's Gothic can still be appreciated despite the enlargements and other modifications the building has since undergone. The American leader of the Gothic Revival in the new archaeological phase, Richard Upjohn, began to build in Rhode Island also in the mid-forties, just after his national pre-eminence in the style had been established by the completion of the epoch-making Trinity Church in New York. In all he built five Gothic churches in the state; but in the same years he also built in Providence and Newport nine houses of which only one is particularly Gothic. Of his houses we must speak in later paragraphs, but of his churches a very few words should be said here.

Grace Church, Providence, built in 1845-46, is now all but impossible to see on its downtown site. Historically the exterior design has some significance. It was apparently the

first church on which Upjohn placed the tower not in the center of the front but at a corner, thus introducing to America the particular asymmetrical composition formula which Pugin in England had first used at Stockton-on-Tees in 1842. As this formula was destined to have an astounding popularity later, the exterior of Grace at least initiates a type. Except for this, it is less interesting than St. Stephen's, also in Providence, of 1860-62, to whose broken and picturesque massing the more developed Victorian taste of Upjohn's son doubtless contributed. The interior of Grace Church is also typical with its fourteenth century nave arcade and elaborate timber roof. The space design of the interior is simple and clear; the decoration is restrained. But compared to the earlier interiors of Greene it lacks originality; while compared to the archaeological exercises of a modern Gothic Revivalist like Ralph Adams Cram it wholly lacks plausibility.

One may well prefer the bolder planning and the elaborate richness of such a later Victorian church as P. C. Kiely's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Providence to the somewhat timid suavity and restraint of Upjohn. Yet there is about the exterior of St. Stephen's and the interior of Grace a certain humility and neatness, a certain simple religious aspiration, even a more sympathetic nostalgia for the Middle Ages and the Old World than St. George's Chapel, a brilliant twentieth century example of the work of Cram, displays. Moreover these Upjohn churches seem to have about them a certain sentimental patina, a sort of imaginary residue of generations of worshippers, of which more splendid and more original earlier churches, like Trinity and the First Baptist and the First Congregational, somehow in their worldliness are devoid. Possibly such sentimental overtones, however, as well as other positive and objective architectural virtues, are even more present in such a little rural Gothic church as the Old Baptist Church of 1856 in Georgiaville, not the least of the treasures of vernacular architecture in that remarkable mill village (Plate 52).

The finest early Gothic house in Rhode Island is "Kingscote" in Newport, possibly built by Upjohn in 1838. It is obviously not very Gothic (Plate 53); but in addition to the Tudor detail the asymmetrical composition of the Bowery facade owes something to mediaeval precedent, although the Bellevue Avenue facade is quite balanced and regular. Other Gothic houses of this period are even less novel in plan and composition.

The Gothic was, indeed, only one of the solvents of the glacier of Grecian discipline and in Rhode Island not the most effective. Although we do not speak of a Romanesque Revival before the seventies and eighties — and even then it is a misnomer — there were perhaps as many Romanesque as Gothic churches built in the middle decades of the century. And in the field of domestic architecture first Italian and then French manners increasingly dominated in the forties, fifties and sixties.

The characteristic towered "Italian Villa" of the mid-century was not derived from present or past Italian practice. It flourished in the late Romantic period, particularly in Germany and England; but its origins were English, and it came to America, like the Gothic Revival, from England. Its ultimate prototypes were the "fabricks" that Claude and Poussin had introduced into their landscape paintings. But by the time the type came to America the Italian Villa had been developed by English designers as a modern house of small or medium size and markedly asymmetrical plan, usually composed about a tower, and with simple detail of vaguely Renaissance character. The Italian Villa

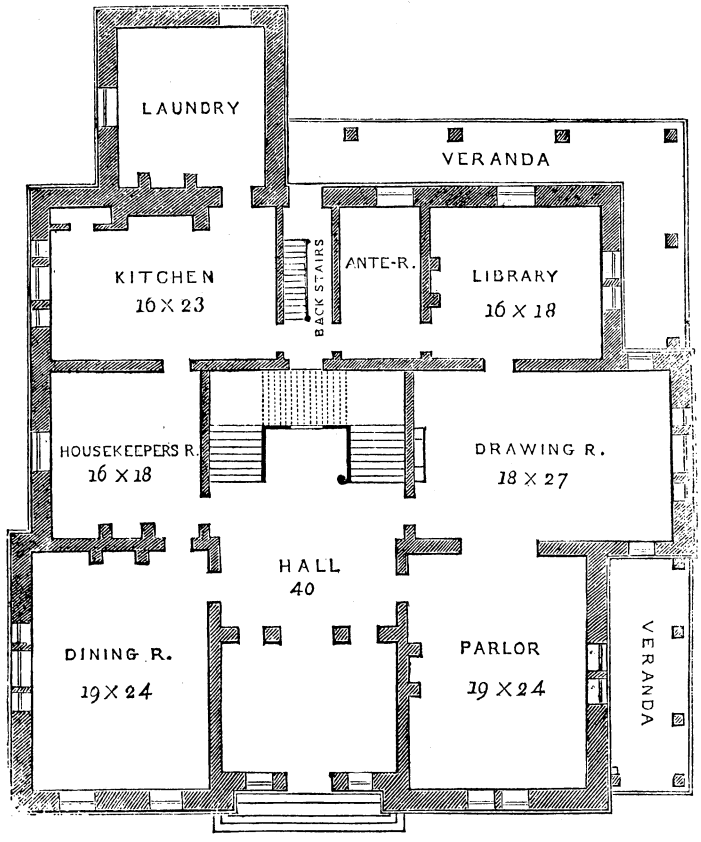


Figure 16. Edward King house, now People's Library, Spring Street, Newport, 1845-47.
By Richard Upjohn.
Plan. From Andrew Downing, THE ARCHITECTURE OF COUNTRY HOUSES, *1850.*

type far more than the Gothic Revival, encouraged the breakdown of the tradition of symmetry in American house design in the forties and fifties. The row house of the Early Republic, to which type so many Greek Revival houses also conformed, was already asymmetrical, but as it were, with an apology. The Italian Villa, however, gloried in its asymmetry; and thanks to its impetus, American houses remained asymmetrical in the main for a generation after the Civil War. The asymmetrical placing of the tower on Upjohn's Grace Church has been mentioned. It is significant that in a house built in the same years in the Italian Villa style he made a bolder use of asymmetry (Plate 54). The Edward King house at Newport, now the People's Library does not, however, have the characteristic tall slim tower like the less fine, but more typical Italian Villa in the grounds of Providence College. The plan, moreover, is essentially still of the academic type, although the individual rooms are beginning to break out from the main oblong (Fig. 16). A later Upjohn house in Newport, the Charles H. Russell house of 1852-53, was more asymmetrical, but it was not so effectively designed in mass. The other Upjohn houses in Newport and Middletown are of relatively minor interest and chiefly symmetrical, as are many other houses of the fifties built by other architects in an Italianate vein. Vaux's Daniel Parrish house is a good example of this sort of work in Newport (Fig. 17).

The chief new Rhode Island architectural talent of the years before the Civil War, Thomas Tefft, used various types of Italianate design; but of the many buildings which his brief career produced only his stables are

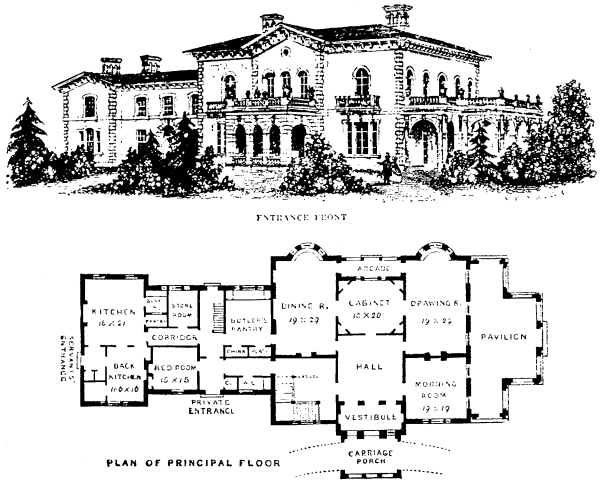


Figure 17. Daniel Parrish house, Newport. c. 1855.
By Calvert Vaux.
Plan and entrance facade.
From Vaux, VILLAS AND COTTAGES, *1857.*

of the asymmetrical Italian Villa type. In 1848 Tefft, then an undergraduate at Brown University, provided the remarkable Romanesque design for the Union Depot in Providence which Talman and Bucklin executed (Plate 55). The skillful use of Lombard brick detail in pilaster strips and corbel tables, the harmonious variety of form in the long, bowed facade, the broad central gable flanked by two tall thin towers, the side arcades and terminal octagon pavillions produced a triumph of picturesque design, rivalling the contemporary Romanesque work in southern Germany by Von Gärtner and Hübsch. Of this masterpiece of American Romantic architecture only portions of the freight houses remain. But they are sufficient to prove that its appeal was not a purely pictorial one, as the brick is handled with real vigor and feeling in contrast to the very flat use of brick on even the best Greek Revival buildings.

Tefft used a similar somewhat Germanic Lombard Romanesque for many churches in the fifties, such as that which is now the Memorial Hall attached to the Rhode Island School of Design. The best in Providence was perhaps the Central Baptist of 1857 with its single square corner tower; but Tefft's big church in Norwich, Connecticut, must have been much more striking before its very slim, very tall spire fell.

Tefft collaborated with Talman and Bucklin on the design of several large commercial buildings. On these the rather heavy Renaissance detail of Sir Charles Barry's London clubs and mansions was used. As has been said, they are not very interesting. But Tefft's Barryesque houses, of which there are quite a few left on the Hill in Providence, are very handsome indeed and were influential in establishing a local manner which lasted into the seventies. The Thomas F. Hoppin house, of 1853, on the corner of Benefit and John Streets, with its very definite suggestion of the contemporary London mansions in Kensington Palace Gardens and its charming rear court, is the largest and perhaps the best of these. The Tully Bowen house of 1852-53 across John Street on Benefit is, however, more typical (Plate 56). This is a square three-storey block of brownstone using the academic plan inherited from the Colonial period. Indeed the proportions and the sobriety of the detail rather recall the mansions of the eighteenth century. Some of these houses by Tefft, like the Charles Potter house of 1855 on the corner of Cooke and Waterman Streets, on which the detail has been modified in the twentieth century to a more Colonial character, might easily be mistaken for real "Georgian" work. Such work of Tefft and his imitators maintained worthily the earlier American academic tradition in its essential spirit and in its close dependence upon distinguished English models. Tefft is as proper an heir of Harrison, as Barry in England was of Kent. He was not, however, very original.

But if Tefft was one of the ablest Americans working in this academic vein in the mid-century he was not the only one; and the manner is by no means restricted to Providence, though Providence is particularly rich in good examples of the type. The Custom House of 1857 on Weybosset Street by Ammi D. Young, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, is a very handsome example by an architect whose work is to be found all over the country. The monumental scale carried over from the preceding Greek Revival is well illustrated in the contrast between this massive pile of granite and the small, almost domestic commercial buildings of the Early Republic with which it was once flanked. And like the Arcade it holds its own today against the larger and taller buildings which now surround it.

The Italianate manners of the villa and the academic mansion were much more conspicuous and influential in the forties and fifties than the Gothic, but as they replaced the Greek Revival they did not occupy the field alone. The fifties saw also the introduction of the Swiss Chalet, of which Leopold Eidlitz' Willoughby Chalet in Newport is an excellent example (Fig. 18). In the chalets the asymmetrical plan and composition was effectively developed without the accent of the Italian tower. But the temptation to decorate eaves and balustrades with wooden "gingerbread" (detail

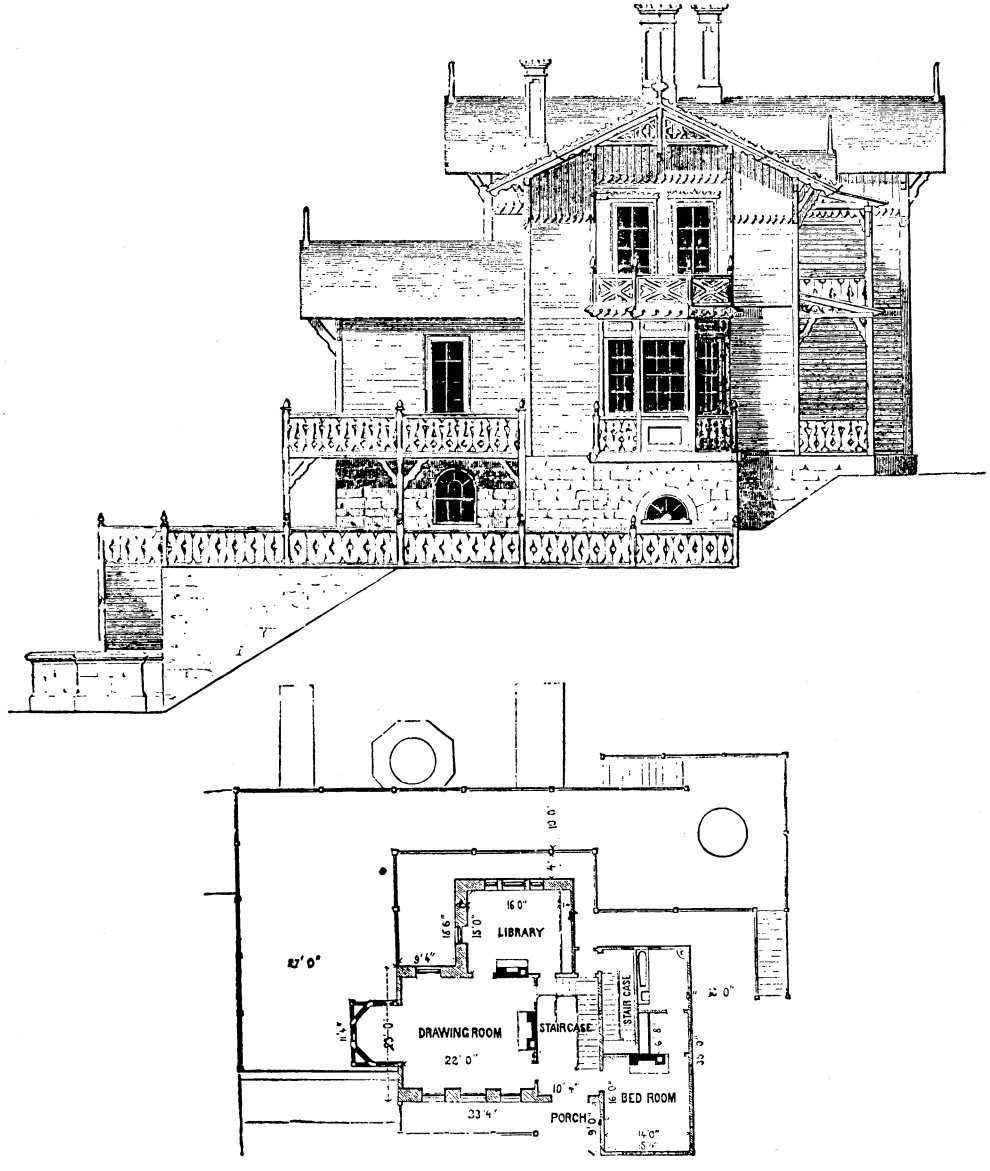


Figure 18. The Chalet, Halidon Avenue, Newport, 1854.
By Leopold Eidlitz.
Elevation and Plan. From Bullock, AMERICAN COTTAGE BUILDER, *1854.*

cut out with the jigsaw and imitated very vaguely from Alpine and Tyrolean originals) was too much for the Victorians: "gingerbread" spread rapidly from the rare chalets and also from the barge boards of the Tudor cottages like a sort of fungus until the detail of almost all types of domestic architecture was corrupted.

Another important influence, appearing in the mid-fifties, was that from Second Empire Paris. The French mansard roof is the chief mark of this manner, and it was applied after the Civil War in connection with all sorts of stylistic mixtures, as on Butler's Exchange of 1872, and over all kinds of plans. But the sound French roofed houses of before the Civil War, of which there were once many really excellent examples in Newport, such as "Fairbourne," the Earl P. Mason house (Plate 57), were academic in plan and decorated with simple heavy detail very little cruder or more hybrid than that on the Italian Villas and often surrounded by wholly American piazzas. The French roof, because of the excesses of stylistic license in the decade after the Civil War, has today a very bad name, which indeed a great many Rhode Island buildings fully justify. But in many cases, as for example some of the mills, it is evident that the curb roof efficiently provides a high, light attic without raising the cornice line another storey and also terminates the solid mass with a plastic effect which no other type of roof could offer. It is not fantastic to suggest that the complete three-dimensionality of the best houses of the seventies and eighties owes something to the training that the use and the frequent sight of the mansard in the preceding decades gave to architects and laymen alike. For it could not but lead to an appreciation of hitherto rather neglected possibilities of composition in that plane that bounds the building cube toward the sky.

The French discipline was rarely understood as a whole and hence not usually applied to houses with the same consistency as the Italian. Villa towers, Gothic bay-windows — the two often analgamated in practice — as well as American porches and piazzas very frequently find a place on the later mansarded houses, although the basic plan scheme remains the academic one or, in smaller examples, the row house type of the early nineteenth century. The detail is quite regularly of almost indefinable corruption. Hence by 1870 eclectic confusion reigned supreme in domestic architecture in Rhode Island as throughout most of the Northeast and the Middle West.

Above the turgid flood, however, many Providence houses on the Hill still continued to rise in the sober academic manner of Tefft like aristocratic islands of dignity, coherence and simplicity. Even as late as 1880 the chief engineer of the Centennial Exposition of 1876 built on Prospect Street an Italian house whose mass and detail is in the tradition of Tefft, although the composition is of the rather early Italian Villa type of Upjohn's Edward King house. Mr. Charles Brackett, the present owner, has decorated this house most effectively in the style of the mid-century, to which it belongs in feeling if not in date. Considering the retardataire design of the house, it is of interest that it was originally provided with what is probably the earliest domestic air-conditioning system in the world.

The basic historical pattern of the decades from 1830 to 1870 is easy to state. Within these years architecture developed from simplicity to confusion, from unity to multiplicity. The Greek discipline was a very real thing in the thirties and even later; but for all its rigidity it was no mere programme of forcing all modern buildings into the frame of the antique temple. Indeed it was

in some ways amazingly elastic, as the commercial buildings and even the mills, several of which have belfries of simplified Greek design, indicate. The Gothic Revival was of little importance in Rhode Island outside of ecclesiastical architecture. Even in that field its close association with the High Church Anglicans restricted its use among other denominations. The Baptists and Congregationalists long clung to Classical forms of some sort or used Tefft's Romanesque. Italian design of two types, that of the asymmetrical villa and that of the academic mansion or public building, was the really dominant manner in the late forties and fifties, gradually giving way to the more exotic and hybrid French Second Empire manner of the late fifties and the sixties. The post-Civil War civil Victorian Gothic is not very well represented in Rhode Island; the Slater Trust Building in Pawtucket is, however, a typical example, or the old Brown University library. The former is the richer and better of the two.

But the stylistic analysis which is possible and even profitable in the decades before the Civil War breaks down in the flood of eclectic production of the post-War boom. We may disregard as due to inertia the continuance in more or less decadent form of the various manners initiated before the Civil War. Stylistically, the significance of the sixties and early seventies lies in the very confusion of eclecticism. For out of this confusion the later seventies and eighties were to forge in domestic architecture, at least, a new style; though not without the aid of English "Queen Anne" models.

Structurally, amid the general decline of craftsmanship and the substitution of slipshod semi-mechanical methods of production for the old hand work, the chief interest in this period lies in the maintenance of the vigorous old traditions in most of the mill building and in the development of metal skeleton construction in some of the commercial architecture. The fruits of this latter development are hardly evident in the terminal decades of the nineteenth century in Rhode Island. The great advance which produced the skyscraper took place in Chicago. But in Newport the new age of the late nineteenth century developed to the full the possibilities of domestic architecture which were latent in the sixties. Even so the earlier Newport summer mansions, belonging to the period we have been discussing, though they lack the lightness and originality of some of the "cottages" at Nahant or Elberon, have a solid and hospitable breadth suggesting a summer life less splendid and more human than that for which Newport became famous a generation later.

VI. MANSIONS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY. 1870-1900.

"WHAT an idea, originally, to have seen this miniature spot of earth, where the sea-nymphs on the curved sands, at the worst, might have chanted back to the shepherds, as a mere breeding ground of white elephants! They look queer and conscious and lumpish — some of them, as with an air of the brandished proboscis, really grotesque — while their averted owners roused from a witless dream, wonder what in the world is to be done with them. The answer to which, I think, can only be that there is absolutely nothing to be done; nothing but to let them stand there always, vast and blank, for reminder to those concerned of the prohibited degrees of witlessness, and of the peculiarly awkward vengeances of affronted proportion and discretion."

Thus wrote Henry James in 1907, nostalgic for the simpler Newport of his youth, concerning the mansions that had been built there within the previous generation. We can afford, a generation later, to be more charitable; glad even that these large houses do still "stand there, vast and blank," since they constitute today an incomparable museum of the higher, or at least of the more expensive reaches of American architectural aspiration in the last decades of the nineteenth century. They exist elsewhere, these "white elephants," but nowhere in such profusion, and with so little admixture of earlier and later types, or so magnificently maintained. The real estate developments and changing tastes, which have wiped them out in other places, have here been held in check. Thus they are historically, if not intrinsically, become as precious a sequence, from "cottage" and "villa" to "mansion," from "mansion" to "manor house"" and "chateau," and finally in the last burst of the nineties, from "chateau" to "palace," as the eighteenth century monuments by Munday and Harrison downtown.

The late nineteenth century was an age of sharp contrasts in American architecture. Never has American originality and creative power been greater than in the eighties and nineties as displayed in the invention of the skyscraper and in Louis Sullivan's masterpieces in that field of construction. Never did we come closer to establishing a tradition of American design, growing from the work of one great architect into that of another, changing character as it grew, but always maintaining a consistent line. The great line passes from H. H. Richardson at the very end of his life, not to his Eastern pupils, but to Louis Sullivan in Chicago, and finally to Frank Lloyd Wright. But the Chicago school around Sullivan, which flourished briefly at the turn of the century, was as abortive as the true Richardsonian school had been twenty years earlier; and the great line was always a very tenuous and personal one, not a broad national current. The skyscraper in other hands took a very different direction from that initiated by Sullivan's latest and best examples, while he himself passed in the twentieth century into relative obscurity. Wright developed particularly as a regional architect — even though the region in which he worked was for a time all that vast area which had its cultural center in Chicago. His work, moreover, became also a major international influence. But during the greater part of his maturity he was hardly accepted in the East. With Richardson's death American architectural development split as the East went one way and the West another. Finally, indeed, the West itself, neglecting its own prophet, Wright, came to accept the Eastern way, but for a few decades only we may hope.

We can therefore hardly expect to find examples of the more novel and original architecture of the end of the century in Rhode Island: the Chicago region of Sullivan and Wright is as far removed from the Providence or Newport of these decades as two areas within a single country can well be. But on the other hand the purely Eastern developments in the field of sumptuous domestic architecture are perhaps better illustrated here than elsewhere. We shall in this section concentrate on them, with special reference to the "white elephants" of Newport, which have on the whole been more patined by time than tarnished since Henry James attacked them.

The Newport houses built before the Civil War illustrated the most advanced types of Romantic design, as we have seen. After the Civil War, at first, the majority of the new houses were neither particularly novel nor fine in design. A new chapter really starts

with the "manor houses" of Richardson and the first "chateaux" by Hunt and others built in the early seventies. Just as Upjohn, the leading architect of his generation, came here from New York to build half a dozen houses in the forties and fifties, so now Richardson from Boston and Hunt from New York, the leaders of their generation, the first two Americans trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, were called here in the seventies. It was here, perhaps rather more than elsewhere, that the peculiar American tradition of the middle class suburban residence was elaborated upon a new and larger scale. For Bellevue Avenue and its surroundings are really suburban, forming a residential quarter like those of other American cities, not a congery of real private estates, like those in the Berkshires. Based upon the most ambitious European models, a new sort of large middle class residence began to flourish here, and soon spread to all similar "good" suburban residence quarters around American cities, with all the pretentions of positively feudal paraphernalia despite very limited grounds.

Richardson's Andrews house of 1872, burned about twenty years ago, and the very dissimilar George R. Fearing house of the same date may well be considered to open the series of late nineteenth masions in Newport. I have discussed and illustrated elsewhere the Andrews' house* and need not do so again here, as its particular characteristics appear in more developed form in Richardson's other Newport house. It is, of course, of the "manor house" type.

The Fearing house, on the other hand, is a "chateau," a careful if not particularly plausible copy of French eighteenth century work, such as had also been built in considerable numbers in France during the Second Empire (Plate 58). French in plan as well as in its well executed ornamental details, the Fearing house is very different from the naive Americanized "Second Empire" manner of the fifties and sixties. Indeed, it does not even have a mansard; and although obviously not of the Louis XV period it might well be thought to stand somewhere in France. This particular type of "chateau" was not very popular in America until the twentieth century; but this early example compares favorably in quality with the houses Trumbauer designed with all the resources of photographic documentation forty years later.

Richardson's Watts Sherman house is much more interesting than the Fearing house (Plate 59). Built in 1874-75, it is an Americanized version of Norman Shaw's Surrey manor houses in England, far in advance of the earlier Andrews house. The large living hall was rather new in American planning and the asymmetrical disposition of the rooms, as in the Andrews house, was at once more elastic and more compact than in the Gothic cottages and Italian villas of the mid-century. Richardson even by this time saw, as Shaw was beginning to also, that the picturesque was not necessarily incompatible with simplicity in plan and centralization in mass composition. The tower as well as the rambling porches, which serve to relate the Andrews house to its American predecessors, are here omitted. The shingles, even the half timber and stucco, are used with that remarkable sense for the quality of materials which was peculiarly Richardson's. But the parts are skilfully scaled down from the heaviness of English timber work to a delicacy consonant with developed American light wooden frame construction.

The Watts Sherman house as we see it today is considerably enlarged from Richard-

* In *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and his Times*, New York, 1936, pp. 133-136, figs. 35, 36. The context includes considerable material relevant to this section.

son's original scheme. Stanford White, after his return from Europe in 1879, completed the interior decoration at Richardson's suggestion, probably because when he was in Richardson's office he had already been made responsible for the eclectic and refined exterior and interior detail. The detail may, therefore, be considered to make this house the first in the series on which White worked with his partners McKim and Mead in Newport in the eighties. Dudley Newton of Newport extended the house to the left about the time of the War. But the mass of the exterior and the plan scheme are still essentially Richardson's.

The Watts Sherman house is the prototype, not of Richardson's own later houses built after 1880 which are simpler and much more original, but rather of the long line of "English manor houses" which have been built at Newport and in similar residence districts down even into the present decade. As is often the case with the first of a series, it is in many ways the best. Increasingly the elaborate resources of later archaeology available as documents for such work took the place of the essential virtues of unified mass composition and clarity of planning which were always more important in Richardson's best work than stylistic echoes.

"Chateau-sur-Mer," the Wetmore house by Hunt across Shepard Avenue from the Sherman house, is not a "manor house" (Plate 60). For all its mixed architectural parentage and its dissimilarity to the contemporary Fearing house, it is definitely a "chateau," representing in some ways a further stage in that rise in architectural pretention which, particularly at Newport, consisted in imitating European types for the prestige of their aristocratic associations. The summer residents of the fifties were happy in "villas" and "cottages," when they did not stay in the big Greek Revival or Gothic Revivals hotels which are now all destroyed. But the "cottages" of the sixties were already "mansions"; and now from the "chateau" it was but a step to the "palace," with which Hunt finally climaxed the sequence in building "The Breakers" for the Vanderbilts in the nineties.

"Chateau-sur-Mer" is a curious edifice, from the exterior more stern than splendid, with French Baroque roofs above a broken composition of mass which is still essentially Victorian Gothic. The virtues of this house, the rugged wall surfaces, the monolithic trim of indefinable character, derive from the buff Fall River granite of which it is built; but they are unlikely ever to induce an appreciation that is not grudging or perverse. Hunt, unlike Richardson, did not usually seek to bring out the specific character of his American building materials. Soon, indeed, he was to use Indiana limestone almost exclusively, partly because it had so little character of its own, and partly because it was the nearest available equivalent to French limestone. For in that alien idiom he was the first of many Americans to think, as it were, instinctively. Here the granite, probably chosen by the client, overpowered him. The monoliths of the porte-cochere and of the other entrance to the right which is now a bay window, the more than industrial regularity of the rock-faced ashlar walls, have surely something remarkably impressive about them. But it is not an impressiveness which was long to be capitalized by American architects, nor particularly appropriate to a summer residence at a watering place.

Beside the Sherman house and the Wetmore house the other Newport houses of the seventies are distinctly not impressive. The "Eastlake" houses have mostly been scraped by later owners of their excess of kindling wood detail. Even so they appear archaic beside the suave finish of the Sherman

house, and rather frivolous in comparison to the awesome sobriety of the Wetmore house. In Providence all the best houses of the day were still in the particular Italianate tradition established by Tefft a quarter century earlier or a related French-roofed manner, handsome, cultured and expensive, but in no way novel or venturesome.

The building curve in Newport, as in the nation at large, rose after 1880. The brilliant young Eastern firm of architects, McKim, Mead and White, including two of Richardson's former assistants, no longer spent half their time at Elberon, Newport's Jersey rival of the late seventies. Now they were busy enough here, since megalopolitan Newport taste naturally preferred their diverting and derivative fancies to the increasingly austere and American houses of Richardson, as much as the "cottagers" must have preferred the giddy White himself to the solid Richardson. McKim, who had family connections with the Philadelphia families who then summered on Washington Street, had, moreover, done some of his first independent work in Newport just after he left Richardson in 1872. Indeed, the room he added to the fine eighteenth century Colonial Thomas Robinson house at that time has a very special significance. For it was probably the first intentional use of revived Colonial style. To this we shall have occasion to refer again.

The finest McKim, Mead and White houses in Newport, though not in the twentieth century the best known, are those of the early eighties. The largest of these, a magnificent thing in its way, is "Southside," built for Robert Goelet in 1882 (Plate 61). It is a rather personal "Queen Anne" fantasia with an enormous number of disparate parts somehow held down by the vast mountain range of shingled roofs and, as it were, in a metaphor as confused as the effect, skewered together by tall red brick chimneys. Much of the detail is delightful: the variously cut shingles, like different kinds of feathers or fur; the strange panels of strapwork set in stucco glittering with broken glass, are all more lively and inventive expressions of White's "itching pencil" than the *quattrocento* repertory for which he was to be famous later. But there is too much detail — on the chimneys, for example, where the total effect demanded simplicity — and too many bays and dormers — though some of those on the right wing are later additions. There is uncertainty, moreover, as to whether wood should be treated as something refined and smooth, like the broad green painted band below the eaves and the elegant porch columns, or as something rough and naturalistic, like the shingles. "Queen Anne" picturesqueness was a terrible temptation to a virtuoso of the drawing pencil; and White indulged, oh, how he indulged! as he indulged in other temptations, until the firm was called to repentance, at least as regards architecture, by the success of Joseph Wells' archaeological Renaissance design for the Villard houses in New York.

We call work of this character "Queen Anne," because it derives in a general way from the so-called "Queen Anne" work of Nesfield and Shaw in England. The term is of course a misnomer even in England; but since we cannot use it for Munday's Colony House, for which it is historically appropriate, we may as well continue to use it without further explanation for the houses of the early eighties.

The other smaller McKim, Mead and White houses and the Newport Casino, which is designed more like a country house than a public edifice, have much the same virtues and vices as "Southside." But the bamboo-like posts of the two-tiered circular porch of the Isaac Bell, Jr., house deserve particular mention for their grace and ingenuity (Plate

62), particularly as compared to the fat Richardsonian tower and the irrelevant but prophetic Adam detail of the fans over the third storey windows and the oculus in the gable. What a pity this talented firm found no discipline of design short of conversion to Renaissance academicism! What a pity the fertile invention of White's brain, which Richardson had recognized, so often produced detail quite unrelated to the somewhat amorphous masses upon which it was deployed. For such things as the screens of turned wooden "gingerbread" on the porches of the Casino and its theatre are positive cadenzas of truly American detail. Above all these "Queen Anne" houses of the eighties have a special gaiety and worldly charm that Richardson's solider and more massive houses lack. And some of the interiors are as fine as the exteriors (Plate 63).

Such houses are by no means restricted to Newport. McKim, Mead and White built them in all the Eastern watering-places — there is a fair example at Narragansett Pier — and in more urban residence districts as well. Indeed, the broken glass detail on the Chapin house, at 1251 Westminster Street in Providence, is something of a record of indulgence, almost Dada in quality, even for White in this period of his architectural wild oats. Moreover, far more than Richardson's superb but simple wooden houses, the "Queen Anne" houses of McKim, Mead and White initiated a new manner of domestic design which was imitated for more than a decade at all scales in every suburb of America. The gables and bay windows and whimsical detail, already excessive in their hands, were parodied and compressed to provide an immensely popular and singularly restless dress for innumerable small houses. The only virtues of these stepchildren of Newport lie in the obvious, if awkward, expression of light wooden construction, the relative elasticity of the plans, and a certain truly native quality of imagination, like that of the "Carpenter Gothic" of the early nineteenth century. This quality ought not lightly to be scorned in a country where for generation after generation architectural "style" has been something imported, and never more insistently so than in most non-residential work of the eighties and nineties. Such houses were called "Queen Anne," in reference to their ultimate English origins; but they are in many ways more fundamentally American than the Colonial Revival houses that succeeded them.

The great Eastern drama in architecture in the mid-eighties, when the West was inventing and developing the skyscraper, was a battle of styles. And McKim, Mead and White, who were easily the most conspicuous young leaders in the propagation of the picturesque and the Americanization of the "Queen Anne," became within a few years the forerunners of a sharp reaction. Their conversion came at least in part from Richardson himself. Certain of their buildings of the mid-eighties, such as the Narragansett Casino (Plate 64) are soberer and more like Richardson's later monumental work. It came also in part from Hunt, whose W. K. Vanderbilt house of 1879 in New York was an early exercise in the archaeological, if still picturesque, use of French style. This was enormously admired among the particular clientele of the younger firm. Furthermore the English leader of the "Queen Anne," Norman Shaw, had for some years gradually been turning to more academic design and closer adherence to stylistic models. But the chief agent in McKim, Mead and White's conversion was Joseph Wells, a designer in their own office. When Wells took over the designing of the Villard houses in New York from White, who went off on

a Western trip, he insisted that he be free to use the Cancelleria Palace as a model and to substitute smoothcut stone for the intended Richardsonian rock-faced. The Italian Renaissance design of the Villard houses, built 1883-1885, made far more impression on contemporaries in the East than the structural innovations in Jenney's Home Insurance Building in Chicago of 1884, the first skyscraper. Moreover, the impression was enthusiastically favorable.

So from imitating the Cancelleria Palace in New York — out of the *Letarouilly* McKim had brought back from Paris over a decade earlier and never before used — the firm went on to emulate the Tempio Malatestiano and the Roman Colosseum at the Public Library in Boston, begun in 1887. The "American Renaissance" was under way. The vulgar might continue for a decade or more to build "Queen Anne cottages"; but it was natural that Newport should reflect at once the stylistic conversion of its favorite architects. Hunt might for a while still build increasingly archaeological copies of Louis XII chateaux, such as Ochre Court, the other Goelet house of 1889-91 (Plate 65; doubtless he had not yet used up all the detail in Palustre's *Renaissance en France*. But the rival "manor house" type, for Newport use, had to be purged by McKim, Mead and White of its picturesque and semi-medieval elements. Yet even the zeal of new converts evidently balked at the idea of adapting the Rucellai Palace or Sant' Andrea of Mantua to a site on the Cliff Walk. The day was saved, and the outcome of the stylistic drama as regards domestic architecture given a rather unexpected turn, by recourse to the American Colonial.

The seed of the Colonial Revival, — for it was as true a revival as the Greek or the Gothic of two generations earlier, and it has lasted quite as long — was planted by McKim in designing the already mentioned room that he had added a dozen years before to the Thomas Robinson house. The germination in the intervening years owed more, perhaps, to a famous trip which McKim and some others took in 1877 up the New England coast in search of seventeenth and eighteenth century buildings than to the flood of sentimental publications on pre-Revolutionary houses which came with the Centennial Exposition of 1876. The first sprouts may be discovered in the occasional Adam detail which appears so incongruous on the picturesque houses of the late seventies and early eighties (Plates 62, 63). Now the new plant bloomed in very deed and at Newport.

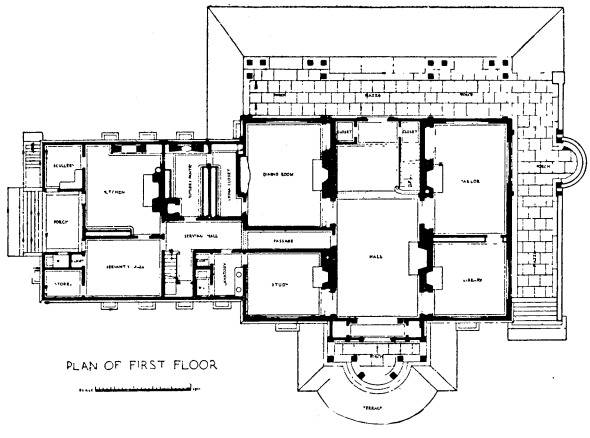


Figure 19. H. A. C. Taylor house, Annandale Road, Newport, 1886. By McKim, Mead and White. Plan. From A MONOGRAPH OF THE WORK OF MCKIM, MEAD AND WHITE, *1916.*

The H. A. C. Taylor house of 1886 is certainly not a plausible Colonial Revival design to the eyes of fifty years later (Plate 66). But it is symmetrical; its detail all derives from eighteenth century precedent, if in the broadest and most eclectic way; its planning, at least as regards the main block, is formal and ideal rather than elastic and

convenient (Fig. 19). The very roof is of the particular early Newport type with a gable instead of a platform above the hip.

The H. A. C. Taylor house is really epoch-making, more epoch-making in its way than Richardson's Sherman house. Slowly, surely, in the East the Colonial Revival drove out the "Queen Anne" in the domestic field, as a more alien academic historicism without nationalistic appeal might not have been able to do. Today the neat, oblong, white wooden, or red brick boxes, with little front porches, three or five nine-pane windows upstairs, and a full quota of blinds or shutters (now painted according to passing fashion white or blue, or red or black rather than the previously standard green) rise with mock humility even among the earlier splendors of Newport, quite as they do everywhere else in America after fifty years of indoctrination. But they are merely the impoverished descendants of the forgotten ancestor of the line, the H. A. C. Taylor house.

One may well be awed by that house, as by the choir of Canterbury or the Whitehall Banquetting House. For the inertia of the Colonial Revival, more than any other aesthetic factor, has retarded for a generation the development of modern architecture in the Eastern United States, and retards it still today. The valid influence of Richardson was all but buried with him; and the more vulgar "Richardsonian," like the vulgarized "Queen Anne," was snowed under by the Colonial within a decade. Sullivan's influence, Wright's influence hardly penetrated the aesthetic consciousness of Eastern Americans; and even a decade or more of the influence of European modern architecture, a decade admittedly of all but complete stoppage of building operations, has hardly as yet brought to a conclusion the Colonial Revival.

Yet if we can forget for the moment the endless and ubiquitous tribe of its descendants, it is evident that the H. A. C. Taylor house has many virtues. It is more simply massed than the "Queen Anne" houses; it is at least orderly in composition; and the detail, although of no intrinsic interest, is kept under control. We can understand its fatal charm. But if we turn to another and vastly superior McKim, Mead and White house, actually a year later in date, the W. G. Low house in Bristol (Plate 67), we can only sigh at the perversity of fifty years of Eastern American taste.

For the disciplined design of the Low house is in the best tradition of Richardson's later houses, not academic but intrinsic; the detail is reduced almost to zero; the light wooden construction is quite directly and simply expressed; and the warmth and homeliness of the great shingled expanses is especially appropriate by the sea, where the natural wood turns not dark but silver grey. Colonial influence appears here in the plan and even in the detail of the entrance door hidden under a plain porte-cochere. But what is really early American is the spirit: the ease, the breadth, the relation to the site, all of which vie with the finest wooden houses built by Richardson a little earlier and by Wright fifteen years later.

There are many other houses along the New England coast which have something of the same quality; less pure, perhaps less purged of picturesqueness; but the type represented a lost hope. McKim, Mead and White built no more such houses, and after a decade or two other Eastern architects gave up as well. This last heritage of the simple strength and the native originality which was Richardson's sank almost without a trace beneath the rising waters of a mistakenly nationalistic Colonial Revival.

The H. A. C. Taylor house was still a "manor house," not unlike the later work of Norman Shaw in England. But "manor houses" and "chateaux" and alike, gave way at Newport in the nineties before "palaces." Soon Trianons rose, not of porcelain, but of white glazed terra cotta simulating marble. Marble houses, of real marble, followed the lines of the Palladian stone mansions of mid-eighteenth century England. Vast *hotels particuliers* such as the *fermiers generaux*, the newly rich magnates, built in eighteenth century France, were transported by the magic of measured drawings to Bellevue Avenue from the *Faubourg Saint Germain.* Thus the sequence went on until there were full-scale models of all the more elaborate types of European residence architecture in Newport. And as the hinterland read of ducal marriages and the surrealist exploits of Harry Lehr, the architectural settings of this watering place, which combined the glamour of Hollywood with that of the Riviera and Palm Beach, were repeated throughout America wherever new wealth could afford the fantastic and useless expense. To such alien splendours who would not have preferred the relative common sense, the plausible sentimentality of the Colonial Revival? Against such importations, who but the witless would not turn nationalist? The Colonial Revival represents therefore in part a middle class reaction to plutocratic excess.

But the Trianons and copies of Compton Winyates, the permanent settings for "Du Barry" and "Henry VIII," were already an anti-climax. The "palace," *par excellence*, was "The Breakers," the first, the biggest and, all things considered, the best (Plate 68). It was designed for Cornelius Vanderbilt by Hunt just before his death in 1895, not in his earlier Vanderbilt manner, to which he clung to the last at Biltmore, but in a heavy, richly pompous style, that recalls more than anything else the palaces of sixteenth century Genoa (Plate 67). Hunt knew how to house Vanderbilts at a period when they lived, in the minds of the public, like a new royal dynasty, as not even film stars care to do today. For any other purpose a house like "The Breakers" is inconceivable. But it has with time attained a kind of muted and slightly pathetic majesty like that of some of the ubiquitous Baroque palaces of the German eighteenth century principalities. The detail is somewhat coarse and vulgar, but more full-bodied and assured than that on the academic mansions of McKim, Mead and White. The obvious, even commonplace composition, because of the great scale, enforces the architect's conviction of the importance of his work. Hunt seems to have known that he was creating the prime symbol of a plutocratic way of life which would soon be given up even by the very rich. Thus "The Breakers" may be considered as not merely a local monument. For it was consciously the acme of its type and of its age. This is so evident that it remains a more significant monument, and more national perhaps as well, than the Grand Central Terminal.

These Newport houses and their co-evals and co-equals at Bristol and Narragansett are only a chapter and, in terms of intrinsic architectural importance, even a minor chapter in American architecture. But their influences in setting a pace was enormous, and as examples of their types they are usually the earliest, often the finest, and almost always the best preserved. To compare them with the Chapin house in Providence, its lawn covered with secondhand automobiles, or with the many once magnificent eighteenth century mansions going to wrack and ruin in downtown Newport is pathetic.

Together with the mills and mill villages,

from which much of the wealth that here flowed so copiously was derived — it is a pity the Lippitt Castle is no longer extant to be illustrated beside the Lippitt mills — these houses constitute the obverse and reverse of the New England medal of architecture in the nineteenth century. We should study both sides of the medal, not only with our eyes but with our minds, in order that we may grasp the story of American architecture in its fullest meaning. For the industrial architecture and the Newport mansions are more relevant, positively and negatively, to the particular problems of our American architecture in the mid-twentieth century than anything else Rhode Island has to offer, except the scanty remains of the seventeenth century.

VII. TWENTIETH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE IN RHODE ISLAND. 1900-1940.

AFTER the nineteenth century, which produced in Rhode Island quite as much historically important and intrinsically distinguished architecture as the two preceding centuries, the twentieth must appear as something of an anticlimax. This is sufficiently evident as regards the Newport houses built after "The Breakers." But the proposition is also true for the architecture of the whole of Rhode Island in the first three decades of the present century; and even of the Eastern United States in general, if we except the later developments of the skyscraper. That is, such a proposition is "true," if we may call "true" an impression which must be in considerable part due to that aesthetic astigmatism which appreciates always with the greatest difficulty the preceding age which is neither past or present. The situation is aggravated by the fact that for the last ten years there has been little building and so the great bulk of twentieth century building is already old enough to have lost its freshness, while it has not as yet had time, like the buildings of even the late nineteenth century, to acquire a sentimental and historical patina.

The assumptions of modern critics, who would dismiss almost all architecture of the early twentieth century in the Eastern States as but the continuance of the wave of academic and nationalistic revivalism initiated in the eighties and nineties, are certainly at fault. But surely such assumptions are no more mistaken than those of older critics, who discerned the dawn of a Golden Age of architecture in the complacent eclecticism, slick archaeological finish and total lack of new structural expression that marked most of the work done before and after the War. The skyscrapers, for all their irrelevant stylistic trimmings, should have given a clue. It ought to have been evident that a people who could carry to such extremes technical engineering feats, raising above the existing great cities a wholly new and positively Alpine skyline, were not finding the highest or the most appropriate architectural expressions in Gothic churches, Georgian schools, Roman railroad stations and Colonial houses. Even in these decades of American assurance that aesthetic salvation lay in tasteful emulation of the past, most Europeans saw that what mattered in American architecture were the skyscrapers in the East; and what mattered even more, as models suitable to inspire the whole world — which the skyscrapers were not — were the houses that Wright was building in Wisconsin, and the factories Albert Kahn was erecting in Michigan.

Rhode Island has its share of the conventional architecture of the first three decades of the present century that we call "traditional" today. It must be for a later generation than ours to sort out of the mass what in one way or another fulfilled itself. Today the weaknesses, above all the lack of progressive development, are chiefly conspicuous. It would be therefore somewhat invidious to mention more than a handful of individual works. The whole present point of view toward such work can be compressed into the discussion of a few monuments, perhaps the most conspicuous in the state, the State House, the Providence County Court House and the Industrial Trust.

The State Capitol, built by McKim, Mead, and White in 1895-1901, represents academic design already in full flower (Plate 69). It combines and resumes all the pooled learning of classical antiquity, the Renaissance and, more selectively, the international practice of the seventeenth, eighteenth and even the nineteenth century. It is not Roman, nor Italian, nor French, nor English, and certainly not American Colonial, although its inspiration is nominally from the work of the Early Republic. Except for a certain chastity of taste, it would be as suitable in South America or the Antipodes as it is here in Rhode Island — as much and no more. It is as international as an epic in Esperanto.

Let us for the moment accept the academic convention of a timeless and impersonal language of form, ultimately inherited from Rome, which later academic periods in Italy and France and England have elaborated and made elastic. It has been well said by Kingsley Porter, commenting on this particular phase of American architecture, that it probably makes little or no difference what you copy: it makes all the difference how you copy. We need not say that this is foreign; this is imitative; this is anachronistic: it is not necessarily foreign, because America is as much the heir of the total Western European past as England or any Continental country; it is not more imitative than much architecture in America of earlier periods which nevertheless has real force and native originality; it is not even necessarily anachronistic, since it obeys the consensus of most contemporary opinion as to the type of design most suitable for such a public monument.

But, granting the academic convention, consider the result. A superb site is crowned with a building tall and restless, facing down the hill toward the city, yet entered from above and behind. It is composed of three units juxtaposed without any real coherence. The dome rises in effect not above the whole but only above the central section. Walter's mid-nineteenth century dome of the Capitol in Washington and Bulfinch's earlier dome in Boston, to choose two very different American types of real success in this sort of design, are both very obviously superior. For this dome is confused by corner domelets and seems to have been pushed up in the air rather than to serve as a crown for the mass below. It is, however, rather effective from the end, as it seems then to rise more gracefully from the narrower mass.

The embellishments of the composition, the sacrosanct classical orders and their appurtenances, the laurels and other flora from the drafting room herbals, are as evidently open to criticism. The columns and pilasters can hardly be clearly distinguished from the distance at which the building as a whole must be seen to be effective, nor do they serve to bring the whole into a consistent scheme of scale. It is revealing to compare these orders with those of Harrison's work in the eighteenth century (Plate 9) or those of Bucklin's in the nineteenth (Plate 47). And as regards the incidental mouldings and dec-

orative carvings the standard of design and execution here falls well below Munday's detail on another Rhode Island State House (Plate 7) or even White's own earlier ornamentation on the Sherman and the Goelet houses (Plates 59, 61).

The Industrial Trust Company a generation later displays the simplification and adaptation of academic style which has proceeded apace since 1900, particularly where as in the skyscraper no scheme of design from the past could possibly be applied to the building as a whole. For such use the revived academic tradition was perforce nationalized (Plate 71). But the results in the East rarely show anything of the creative originality of Sullivan's early skyscrapers.

The Providence County Court House illustrates a different sort of nationalization through the selection of architectural motifs from the eighteenth century English and American repertory (Plate 70). Such design represents a conscious deviation from the international academicism of McKim, Mead and White's monumental work. Because the American Colonial and the related provincial architecture of eighteenth century England offer few prototypes for large and complex structures, however, modern work of this order often appears to consist of a compilation of separate buildings rather than a fusion of traditional themes in a consistent, if alien, discipline of form such as McKim, Mead and White had attempted.

In greater or less degree such critical analysis might be applicable to most other "traditional" buildings of the last forty years. But such analysis omits or minimizes the technical developments which have been so "tastefully" hidden within the various imitative frames of design. Nor must we forget that the traditional rationale of design has often encouraged a restraint and an appreciation of the value of simplicity which the late nineteenth century hardly knew. However, the appreciative critique of the work of our fathers is for our children to make. We must rather concern ourselves with the new architecture which is the particular expression of the mid-twentieth century, that is the specifically "modern architecture" as opposed to the "traditional" work which still goes on.

Non-traditional modern architecture in Rhode Island consists of a mere handful of buildings, mostly of the last few years. They represent, however, the latest step in American architectural development upon the local scene. Are we to accept their innovations at face value, or are we to disown them as a perverse by-path irrelevant beside the main road of academic revivalism which seems to run so straight in America from the mid-eighties down to our own day? How do the modern houses both large and small compare, not with their contemporary "traditional" rivals, but with the achievements of the past? How do the new factories compare with the early mills? There is even a supposedly modern church: built by a Swedish architect in 1928 and representing an already past phase of half-modern design not otherwise seen in Rhode Island, it is certainly very superior to most ecclesiastical building of the last fifty years (Plate 72). Finally there are such accessory structures of modern design as filling stations to be compared with the patently ridiculous and over-decorated work of the previous decade. Among the houses there are representatives of various economic grades from the most expensive to the smallest. The latter must be considered, as in the case of the mill villages of the nineteenth century, not as independent units but as parts of a larger communal whole.

The largest modern house here illustrated is not technically in Rhode Island. However,

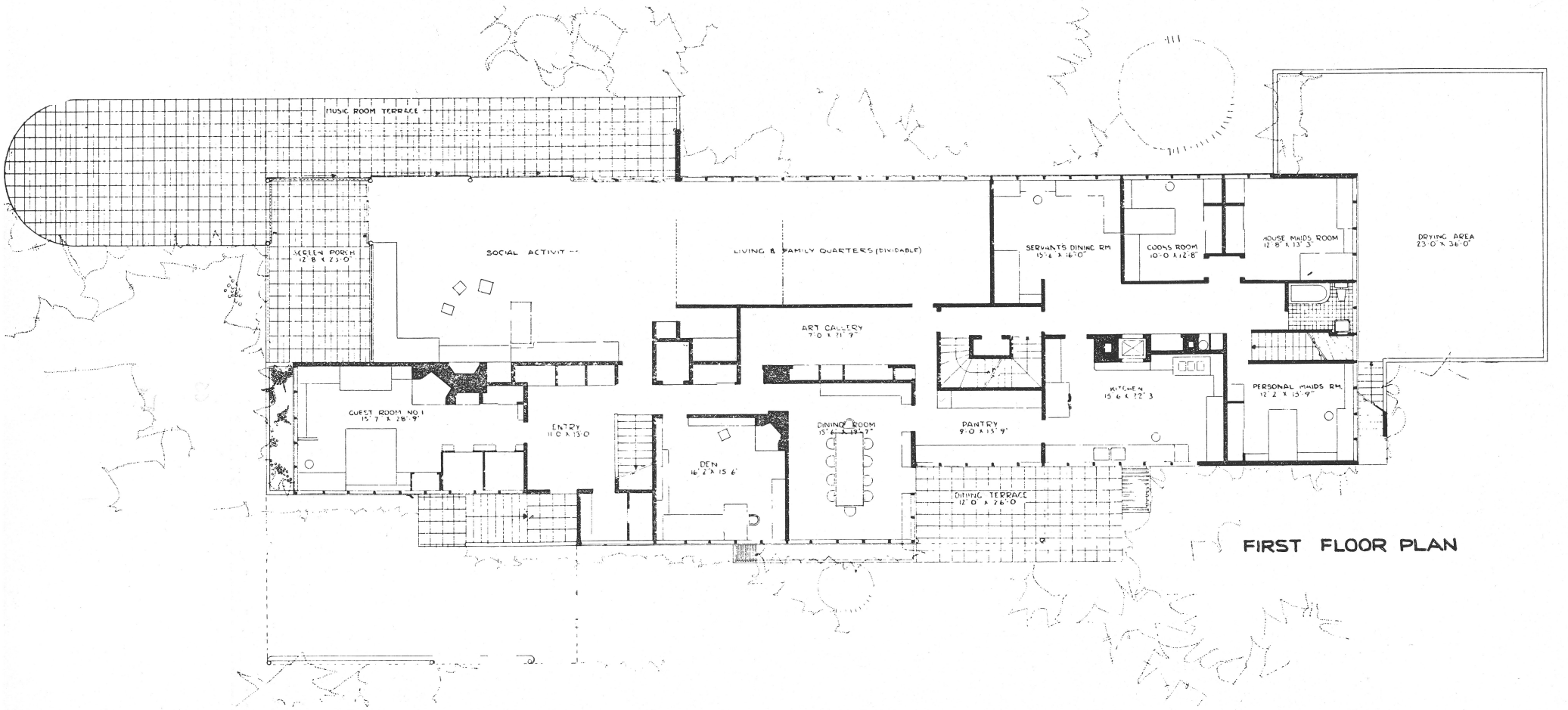


Figure 20. John Nicholas Brown house, Fisher's Island, N. Y., 1937-38.
By Richard J. Neutra.
First floor plan. (Provided by Mr. Neutra.)

as its owner is not only generally a resident of Rhode Island, but as active a patron of architecture in the twentieth century as the four or five preceding generations of his family were in the past, it may be properly included.

The John Nicholas Brown house, built last year on Fisher's Island is by Richard Neutra, most of whose other work is in California (Plates 73, 74). Neutra is known not only in America but throughout the world as a leading modern architect. The choice of Neutra to build the house signifies the same desire to obtain the best architect available in America as the choice of Richardson, Hunt, or McKim, Mead and White for the great houses of Newport fifty years ago. The house is of comparable scale, probably of comparable cost, to the Newport houses of the eighties and nineties. But the revolution of advanced taste within a generation could hardly be more startlingly displayed. Here is a house developed from the interior outward, not the other way around; yet it adapts itself to its oceanside site as do none of the Newport houses. Here is a house in which the detailed provisions of family living have been thought out and carried out to a point hardly conceived of before (Fig. 20); yet there is no display, indeed, more possibly it may seem that there is an unnecessary humility in finish and detail.

This house opens toward the landscape and the sea, so that on the terrace outside or in a boat you could hardly be more in the midst of nature. Special glass, however, protects the interior of the almost wholly glazed living room from the undue heat of the sun. Within the simple oblong silhouette the innumerable rooms are bound together by long horizontal window bands; and the desire for unity and consistency has even led to carrying the color of the metal sash over the whole by using aluminum paint on the wooden sheathing of the walls.

From the particularly mid-twentieth century splendors of this home, the observer will certainly turn with interest to several smaller houses of similar design, whether he be sympathetic or not with the spirit of modern architecture. They all have extensive, carefully considered fenestration, although only one perhaps approaches the extreme openness of the Brown living room and bed room. They all have the same simplicity and horizontal composition, although they are also somewhat more organically varied in general design. But they differ a great deal in their scale and in their surface materials. It is, however, worth stressing that all these modern houses are skilful adaptations of the same standard light wooden frame construction which is generally used for the most "traditional" American dwellings as well. There is, indeed, only a very limited use of metal beams and supports and no use of ferro-concrete, the particular type of construction in which modern architecture was particularly developed abroad in the twenties. Moreover all of them express more clearly than "traditional" houses the fact that their covering is but a shell over an interior supporting skeleton.

The Donnelly house at Plum Beach is by Robert Brown and George Howe. George Howe's American reputation places him in a class with Neutra as a modern architect, but with the interesting difference that he has behind him a distinguished career as a traditional architect also. This is the least windowed of these houses. It has the great merit of natural cyprus sheathing which is weathering, like the shingles of the Wm. G. Low house of fifty years ago, to a silvery colour more natural and appealing than that of the aluminum paint of the Brown house.

The skilful juxtaposition of the stone wall of the service wing to form an entrance court makes up in part for a certain irregularity in the placing of the window openings.

The Knox house at Saunderstown uses bricks set edgewise for sheathing, which somewhat falsifies the scale, even though it is evident that it is not of solid masonry (Plate 75). But the glass walled downstairs rooms open more resolutely than the Donnelly house toward the view. Owing to the two periods of its construction there is a certain irregularity in the planning, which is undoubtedly individual and appealing if not altogether standard. For the same reason the composition combines very successfully rigidity and looseness, comparing most favorably with that of the other Rhode Island modern houses.

The Herreshoff house — it is not without significance that this, like the Knox house, was built by the architect for himself and that both have as neighbors traditional houses built by these architects for other clients — has not quite so happy a site as the others (Plate 76). But because of its conspicuous location it is probably much the best known. It is surfaced with asbestos clapboards, an interesting use of a new material in an old way. It is also much the most elaborate in composition for its size. The visors over the individual windows, which are intended to serve somewhat the purpose of traditional eaves, are a debatable device without much precedent in modern architecture. They have, of course, definite practical and even visual advantages, since they break up the planes of the wall surfaces with small planes at right angles. But their shadows lend such a special emphasis to the fenestration that, particularly when used with corner windows, they rather destroy the unity of form.

The Ellis house at East Greenwich by William and Sylvia Wilde is not yet quite completed (Plate 77). It includes a studio half a floor above the living room and bed room and, like the other modern houses, has a roof terrace on top. The projecting studio gives particular interest to the composition. All of these houses have an amplitude and a functional organization of the windows which it is almost impossible to obtain within the various traditional disciplines of design. They also have an openness and elasticity of planning which is difficult to achieve with any traditional type of design and quite impossible with the more formal academic type. But none of them is to be considered purely, or even mainly, functional or utilitarian in design. All have a coherent character dependent upon the expression of their light construction and the geometrically organized composition of their large and frequent windows and glass walls.

These houses are individual products, built by individuals, owned by individuals, such as every American might hope to have in the seventeenth century and most in the eighteenth century. But since the early nineteenth century the individual construction and even ownership of houses has been impossible for an increasing majority of the population. In the twentieth century it is utopian to believe that individual house construction on this scale can soon again become general, particularly in a state like Rhode Island, the most thickly settled and one of the most heavily industrialized in the United States. Modern architecture would be no more than an incidental whim of fashion if it did not face and at least attempt to solve the problem of shelter in some broader and more collective way.

Perhaps the happiest solution in idea, although it has not yet worked as well in practice as optimists dreamed, is the pre-

fabricated house. At least in theory, houses manufactured in mass-production might hope for as wide a distribution as mass-produced automobiles. Furthermore, it should be possible to manufacture not only whole houses, but also variable interlocking parts of houses, so that individuals, while profiting from the advantages of industrial production in a field still dominated by the hand crafts, might have some opportunity of choice, some possibility of adapting not too expensively the basic models to their particular meeds. The problem was approached first from the point of view of the whole house. It has also been approached from the point of view of units less than the house, as for instance in the prefabricated bath rooms attached to the ground floor guest room in the Brown house.

The two Monsarrat houses in East Providence are early and unusually attractive examples of the possibilities of the prefabricated dwelling (Plate 78). The slight variation between the two indicates something of the range of adaptation which this sort of construction permits. In planning and in fenestration many of the advantages of the individual modern houses are possible, while the modular character of the factory-made wall-slabs expresses directly the underlying light metal skeleton and gives a sort of net or web of proportional design to the whole. Such modern houses are often unduly elaborate in composition compared to the distinguished simplicity of individually designed ones. But the practical, if not the aesthetic, advantages of the method are very considerable. Unfortunately the chief ultimate advantage, which would be the marked lowering of construction cost, will not be fully effective until the production increases to something like the production of automobiles. Hence other types of semi-mass-production are today at least as practical. It is not as yet at all clear what type of prefabrication, if any, will ultimately solve the economic problem of the individually owned small house in the mid-twentieth century.

Another type is well represented by the community of small houses at Glendale. Here the method, which is still a secret, does not depend upon national distribution. The full possibilities of design have hardly been exploited in those already erected. The windows seem unduly small and the variation of roof types detracts from the harmony of the group as a whole. But the individual plans are excellent and the construction appears at least superficially solider than in the fully prefabricated houses. Somehow along these lines we may hope that, with a revival of building, there will soon appear a satisfactory model of the individual small house, such as was hypothesized in the first section of this book, comparable in simplicity and practicality to the houses of the seventeenth century, but with the additional technical services that are today become necessities. Probably it will come sooner where whole communities are built at once along lines analogous to those of the mill villages of the nineteenth century, as here at Glendale, than through industrial prefabrication of complete dwelling units upon the dubious analogy of the automobile. The general distribution of the expensive and complex bathrooms and kitchens, which absorb so much of the cost of the twentieth century dwelling, in prefabricated form will doubtless play an increasingly important part in domestic architecture at all scales.

Public housing, grouped minimal dwellings conceived at least in part as a public service, has not, I believe, yet come to Rhode Island. They are obviously a necessary, if not an ultimately ideal, amelioration of present unsatisfactory industrial housing conditions.

American architecture, and particularly American architecture in modern times, has excelled particularly in the field of the house, the factory and the skyscraper. If the modern houses in Rhode Island are not, perhaps, of the historical significance of those of Frank Lloyd Wright, they offer nevertheless a worthy cross section of current production. The Brown house, indeed, because of the reputation of its architect, is of particular interest throughout America and abroad as well.

Rhode Island's one skyscraper is typical enough of those that rose in the past decade in many cities throughout the land. But, as is equally true of others which stand alone in various cities, its interest derives from the way it crowns the city picture, rather than from any special distinction which would set it apart among the massed towers of New York or Chicago or Philadelphia. The industrial architecture of the twentieth century is likewise not of the highest interest. But some of it is worth comparison with the early mills, and several plants deserve more general attention than they currently receive.

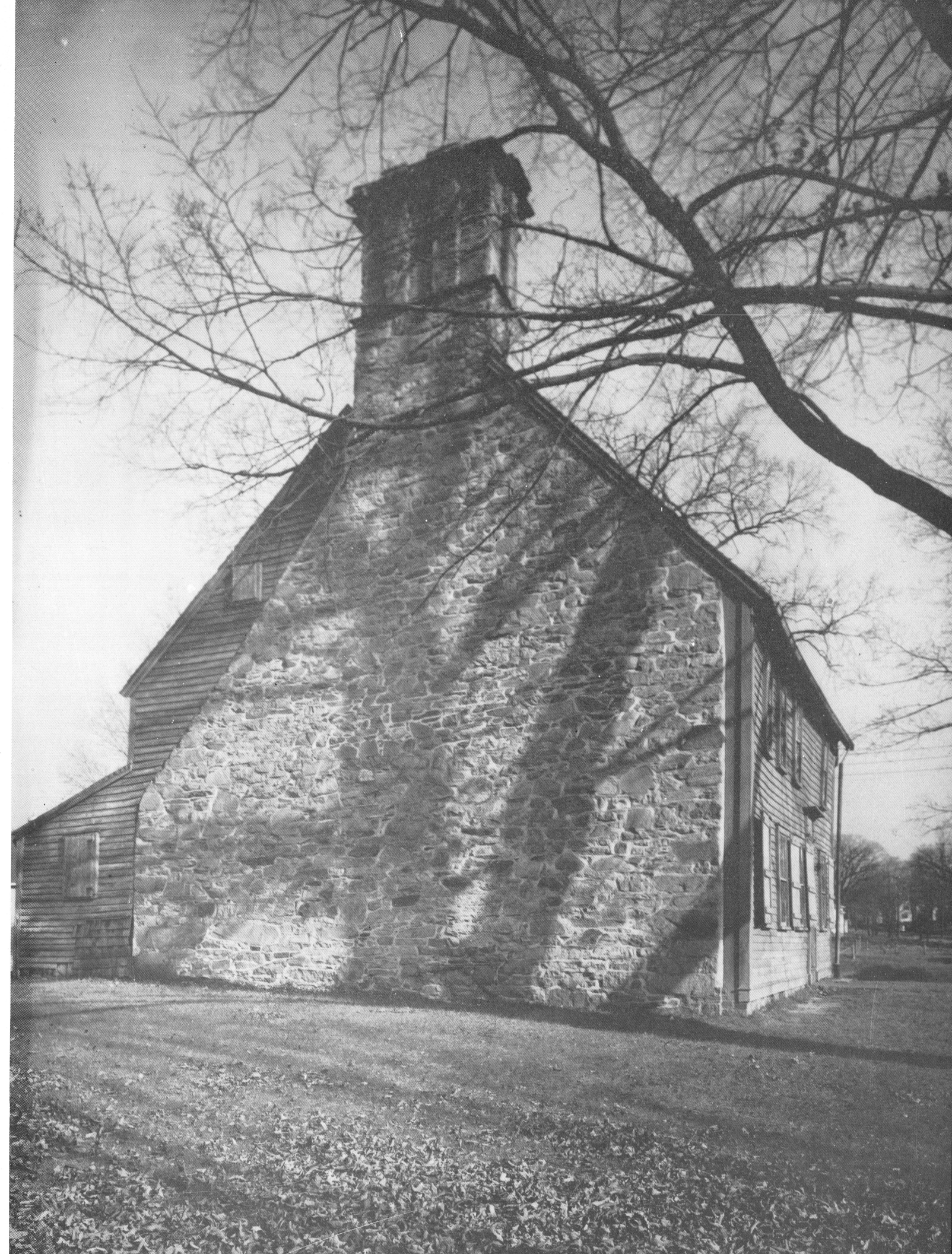
Large portions of the Brown and Sharpe plant have a grandiose dignity and almost Richardsonian finish that make up for a certain grimness and congestion like that of the factories of the late nineteenth century (Plate 79). The Providence Base Works is an excellent example of the lower and more open design of later factories, very cleanly composed and with excellent detail. (Plate 80) It is harder to illustrate the larger later plants effectively: often, like the long low wing of the Esmond Blanket Mill, they are too extensive and monotonous to look like anything in a photograph; or else they are so confused with earlier types of construction, like the concrete section of the Woonsocket Falls Mill (Plate 42), that they hardly constitute complete modern buildings. The American Brass Company Warehouse in Providence, built by Peter Geddes in 1937, is not a factory in the ordinary sense, but it displays an elegant and quite conscious vocabulary of modern industrial design.

A larger and more striking example of industrial construction is provided by the grandstands at the Narragansett racetrack, but these have rather less refinement of finish, for all their bold engineering, than the factories. They are, however, wholly devoid of conventional ornamentation and remarkably impressive in scale (Plate 81).

The architectural destiny of an age may find its true expression only in the production of a few architects, as Richardson, Hunt, and McKim, Mead and White dominated the last decades of the nineteenth century in Rhode Island; or it may lie, as in the seventeenth century, in the development of a fundamentally sound program of building, often called a vernacular, which is universally understood by craftsmen and every one else as well. Whether we are to have great architects in the mid-twentieth century in America we cannot yet certainly know. But the few houses and factories in this section may give us faith that a vernacular is being established. The final purpose of the contemplation of Rhode Island architecture through three hundred years should not be to provide a dream escape into the past but to stimulate a bold and clear-sighted advance into the future.

1. **ELEAZAR ARNOLD HOUSE,** Great Road, Lincoln. 1687. *(Photo. Leboeuf)*

Despite some changes, the best preserved seventeenth century house in Rhode Island. Rear line of roof raised; original front gable removed; doors and windows changed.



2. ELEAZAR ARNOLD HOUSE, Great Road, Lincoln. 1687. *(Leboeuf)*

The furniture and the whitewash on the walls and beams are not altogether appropriate to the period, but this is all the same about the finest extant seventeenth century room in Rhode Island.

3. OLD STONE MILL, Touro Park, Newport. c. 1665. (*Weber*)

Built by Governor Benedict Arnold and possibly modeled on an observatory by Inigo Jones.

4. JOSEPH REYNOLDS HOUSE, 956 Hope Street, Bristol. 1698. *(Leboeuf)*

Fireplace wall of the keeping room. An early and fine example of Late Stuart panelling. Marblizing was probably rather usual on early work of such elaboration, but such elaboration itself is most unusual at this date.

5. JAHLEEL BRENTON HOUSE, Thames Street, Newport. 1720.

An early example of academic eighteenth century plan and design, with symmetrical five-opening facade, hip roof, modillion cornice and pilastered portal. Destroyed.

6. **TRINITY CHURCH,** Newport. 1725-26. (*Covell*)
By Richard Munday.

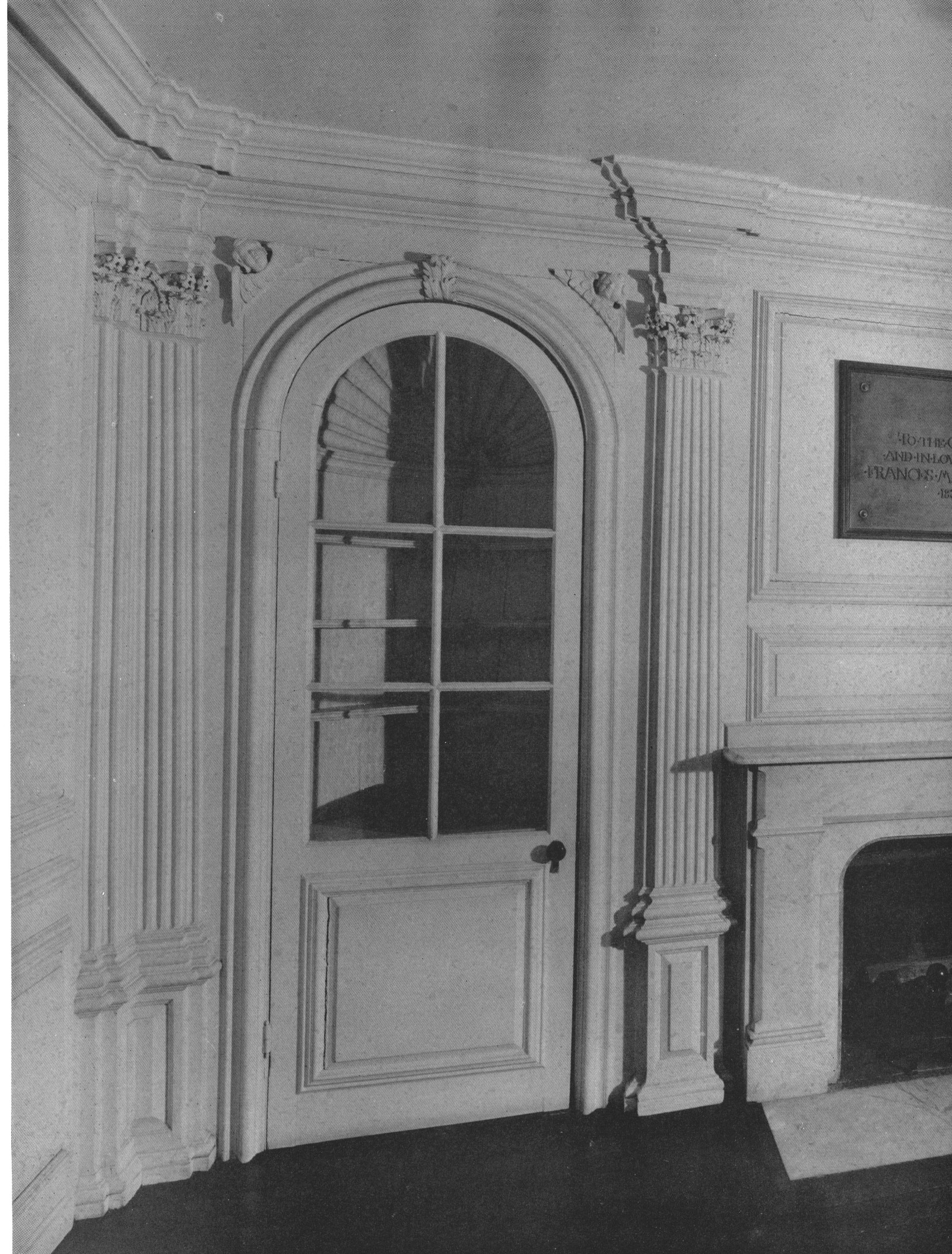
This Anglican church follows the models provided by Wren's London churches of a generation earlier rather than the American seventeenth century meeting-house type. Extended in 1762.

7. **COLONY HOUSE,** Washington Parade, Newport. 1739. *(Weber)*
By Richard Munday.

An early example of formal public architecture in masonry. Brick with brownstone quoins and carved detail of painted wood. Restored by Norman M. Isham in 1932.

8. NICHOLS-WANTON-HUNTER HOUSE, 54 Washington Street, Newport. 1746. *(Leboeuf)*

Fireplace wall of downstairs parlor. The richest panelling of the mid-eighteenth century with correct Corinthian pilasters and carved angels' heads. Elaborate niches, frequently placed over fireplaces, are very characteristic of this age in Rhode Island.



9. **REDWOOD LIBRARY,** Bellevue Avenue, Newport. 1748. *(Weber)*
By Peter Harrison, 1716-1775.

The larger masses to the rear are not part of the original scheme. The resticated woodwork of the walls and the correct Roman classical detail is, and probably always was, sanded and painted stone-colour to complete the illusion of masonry construction implicit in the design.

10. TEMPLE JESHUATH ISRAEL, Touro Street, Newport. 1763. *(Leboeuf)*
By Peter Harrison, 1716-1775.

Upon an interior of the type of the Amsterdam synagogues of the previous century Harrison lavished the resources of English Palladian design, copying the galleries from Jones' Whitehall banquetting hall, other details from Gibbs, and the Ark of the Covenant from Langley and Kent.

11. WILLIAM VERNON HOUSE, Clarke and Mary Streets, Newport. 1758. *(Romano)*

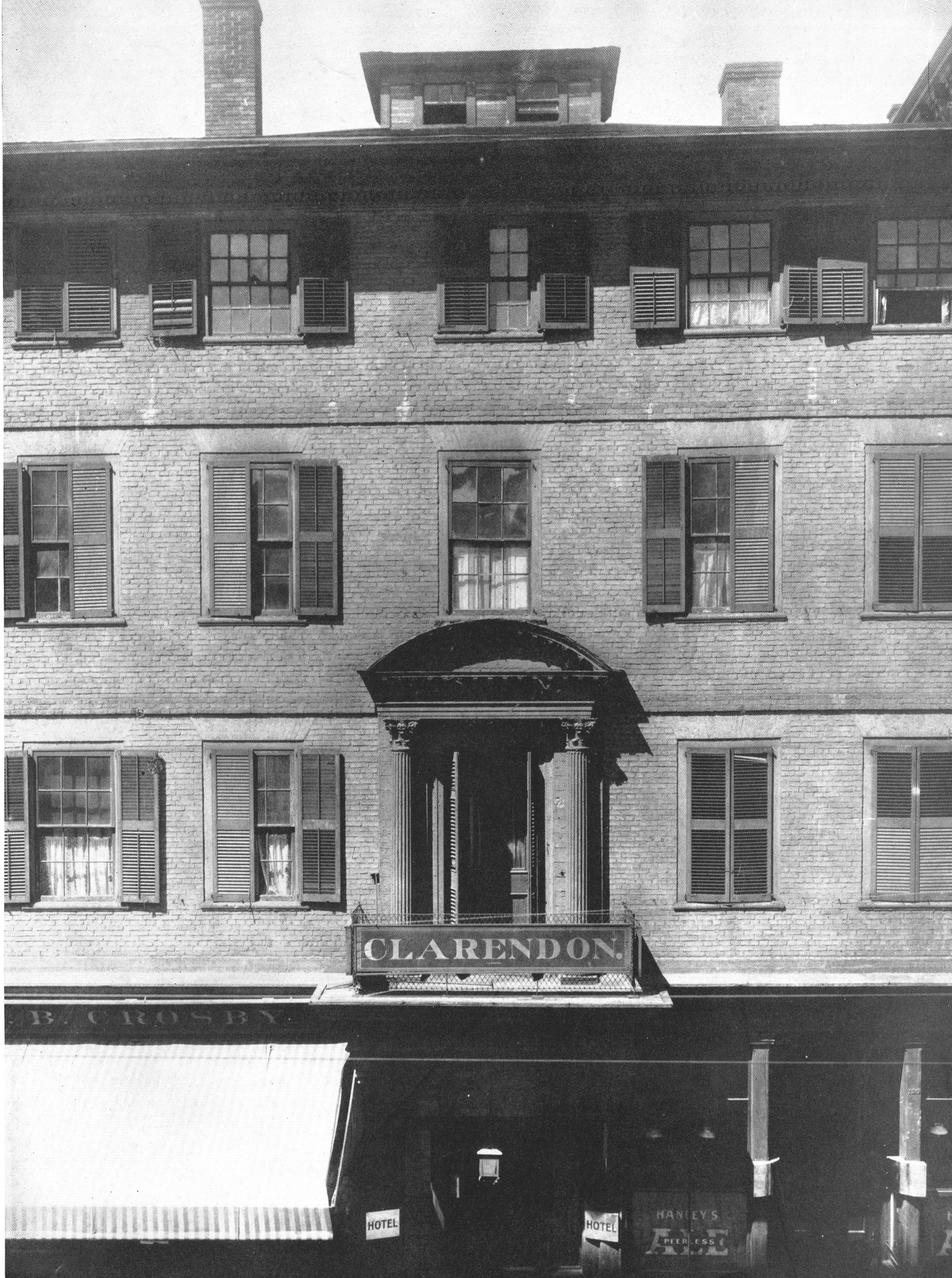
The handsomest academic exterior of the mid-century, originally sanded and painted stone-colour like the Redwood Library, not white.

12. **COLLEGE EDIFICE,** Brown University, Providence. 1770. *(Leboeuf)*
By Joseph Brown, 1733-1785.

The first building with which Brown was associated. Modelled on Nassau Hall, Princeton. Utilitarian and retardataire in design.

13. **RUSSELL-THORPE-ALLEN HOUSE,** 114 North Main Street, Providence. 1772.

This three storey house, now raised above modern stores, was one of the first Providence mansions of mature academic design.


CLARENDON.
HOTEL
HOTEL
HANLEY'S
PEERLESS

14. JOSEPH BROWN HOUSE, 50 South Main Street, Providence. 1774.
(McCarthy)
By Joseph Brown, 1733-1785.

Double stairs originally led up to an entrance in the center of the main storey above the high basement. The curved baroque pediment is very retardataire for the seventies.

15. FIRST BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, Providence. 1775. *(Watson)*
By Joseph Brown, 1733-1785.

The tower, copied from Gibbs' *Book of Architecture*, 1728, was originally painted in different colours to suggest rich marbles.

16. **JOHN BROWN HOUSE,** 52 Power Street, 1786. *(McCarthy)*
By Joseph Brown, 1733-1785.

The most famous mansion of late eighteenth century New England. Despite its elaboration, it still follows the style of the mid-century, except for the projecting porch which is a new development.

52

17. **JOHN BROWN HOUSE,** 52 Power Street, Providence. 1786. *(Leboeuf)*
By Joseph Brown, 1733-1785.

The Small Drawing Room.

18. CARPENTER-HICKOX HOUSE, 196 Main Street, Westerly. Before 1730. *(Weber)*

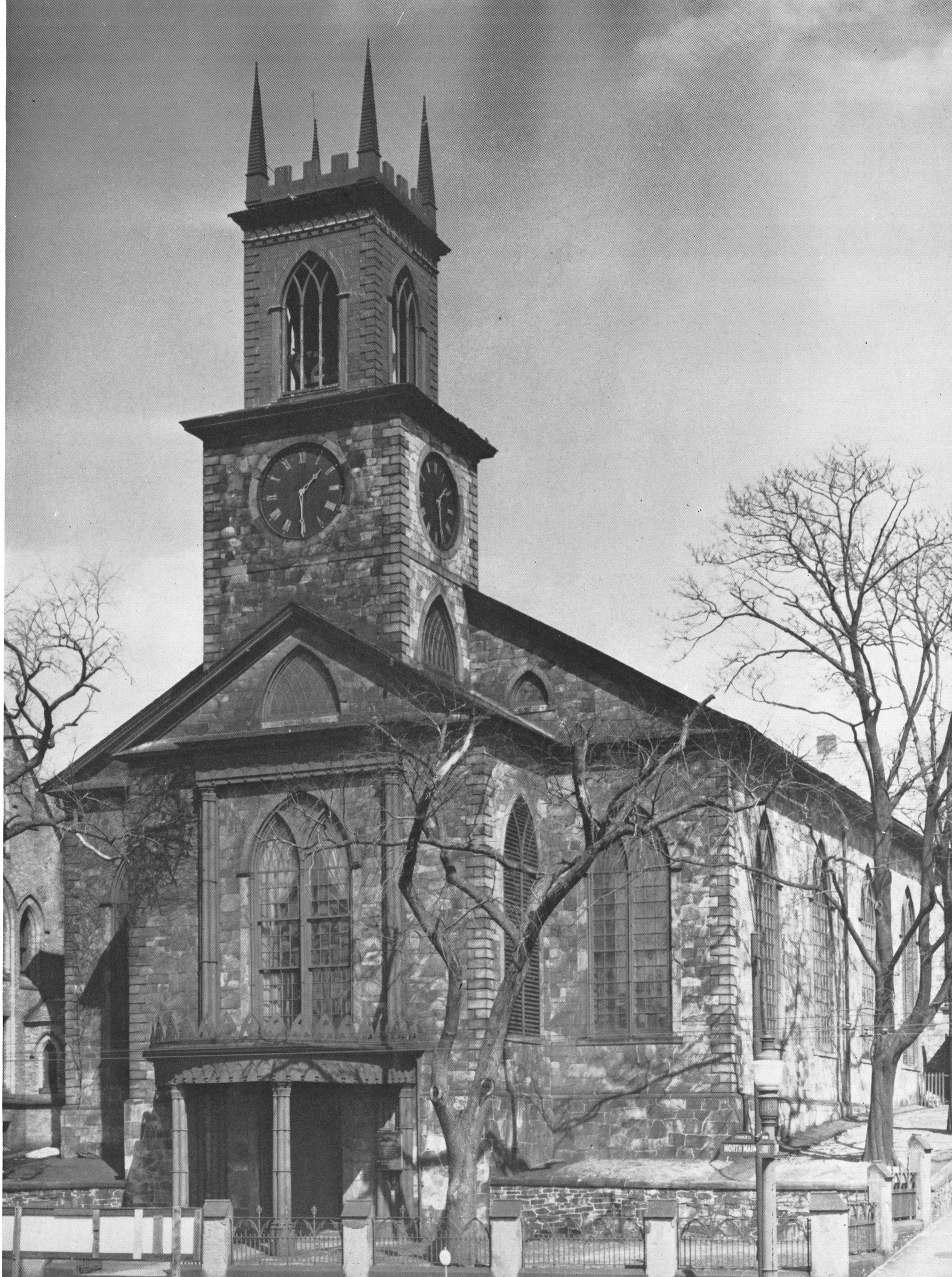
The simple five-room eighteenth century type of house continuing the central-chimney, storey-and-a-half scheme of the earlier period with little change.

19. CAPTAIN CARD HOUSE, 12 Margin Street, Westerly. c. 1750 *(Weber)*

A later example of the five-room, central-chimney, storey-and-a-half eighteenth century house, still markedly asymmetrical, and with no academic embellishment.

20. **ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL,** North Main Street, Providence. 1810. *(McCarthy)*
By John Holden Greene, 1777-1850.

Eighteenth century "Gothick" detail on a conventional body, inspired by Bulfinch's Federal Street Church in Boston of the previous year.



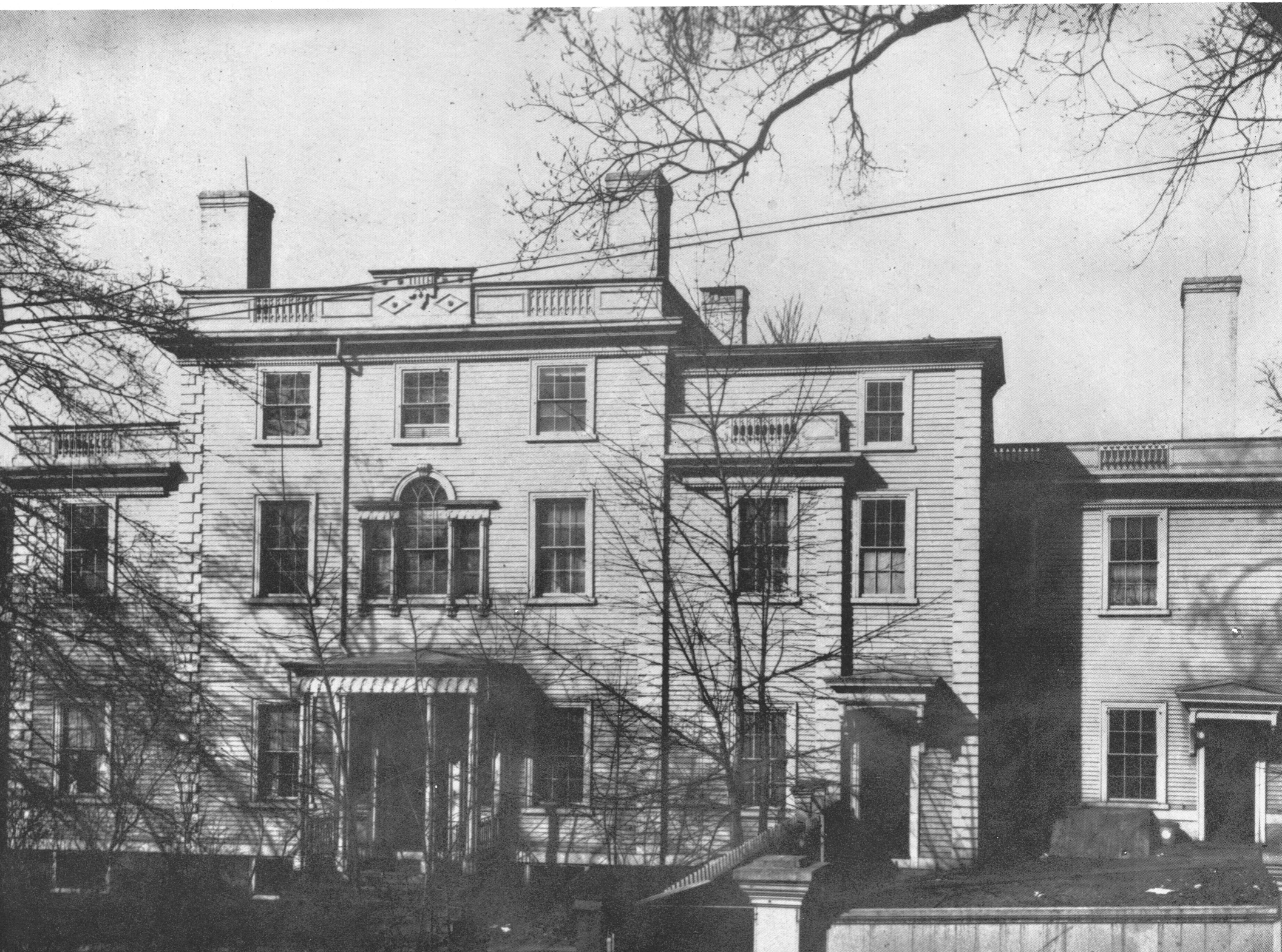
21. **FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,** Benefit Street, Providence. 1816. *(McCarthy)*

By John Holden Greene, 1777-1850.

The shallow oval dome over an oblong interior gives an interesting space effect; but the galleries do not follow the line of the dome, as they once did in St. John's, and the Classical detail is dry and over-refined.

22. SULLIVAN DORR house, North Main Street, Providence. 1809. *(Leboeuf)*
By John Holden Greene, 1777-1850.

An unusual facade composition with raised center and skilfully mixed "Carpenter Gothic" and "Carpenter Classic" detail. The later wings on the right considerably detract from the original effect. The thin, flat expression of American wooden construction is very evident as also the extreme delicacy of the detail.



23. **"LINDEN PLACE,"** Bristol. 1810. *(Weber)*
By Russell Warren, 1783-1864.

The "Gothick" library wing. An exotic element in a house otherwise of Classical design. The exquisite refinement and imaginative virtuosity of this feature contrasts with the rather pretentious character and confused scale of the main facade of this famous house.

24. EDWARD DEXTER HOUSE, 72 Waterman Street, Providence. 1799. *(Leboeuf)*

The smooth plaster walls, dryer detail and smaller scale of Early Republican interiors are well illustrated in this parlor. The niche indicates an interest in space composition and ingenious planning not as fully exploited in Rhode Island as around Boston and Philadelphia. The furnishings are on the whole appropriate.

25. THOMAS POYNTON IVES HOUSE, 66 Power Street, Providence. 1806. *(McCarthy)*

A three-storeyed brick mansion of the Salem type, with rounded side projection, originally only of one storey, and very rich but delicate wooden porch in contrast to the smooth severity of the main masonry block.

26. EDWARD CARRINGTON HOUSE, 66 Williams Street, Providence. 1812. *(McCarthy)*

The light two-storeyed porch added in 1812 to a slightly earlier house forms an agreeable contrast to the solid brick mass behind. The Classical detail is unusually correct and elegant, except for the second storey railing.

27. **GRANT-TYLER HOUSE,** Westminster Street, Providence. c. 1820.
By John Holden Greene, 1777-1850.

A later and somewhat smaller example of the Early Republican house, now destroyed. The neat execution and elaboration of detail is typical.

28. **BRISTOL HOTEL,** Market Square, Providence. 1824. *(McCarthy)*
By John Holden Greene, 1777-1850.

A granite skeleton building of monolithic posts and spandrels copied from Alexander Paris' buildings flanking the Quincy Market in Boston. This presages later metal skeleton developments toward the skyscraper.

SIMMONS. INC. ~ FLOWERS
ET SQUARE

29. SLATER MILL, Pawtucket. 1793. *(McCarthy)*

The earliest extant cotton textile plant in America. Domestic in scale and detail with a belfry like that of a meeting house. The size and the trap-door dormer in the roof are the only new things about this example of the original mill type.

30. LIPPITT MILL, Lippitt, West Warwick. 1809. *(McCarthy)*

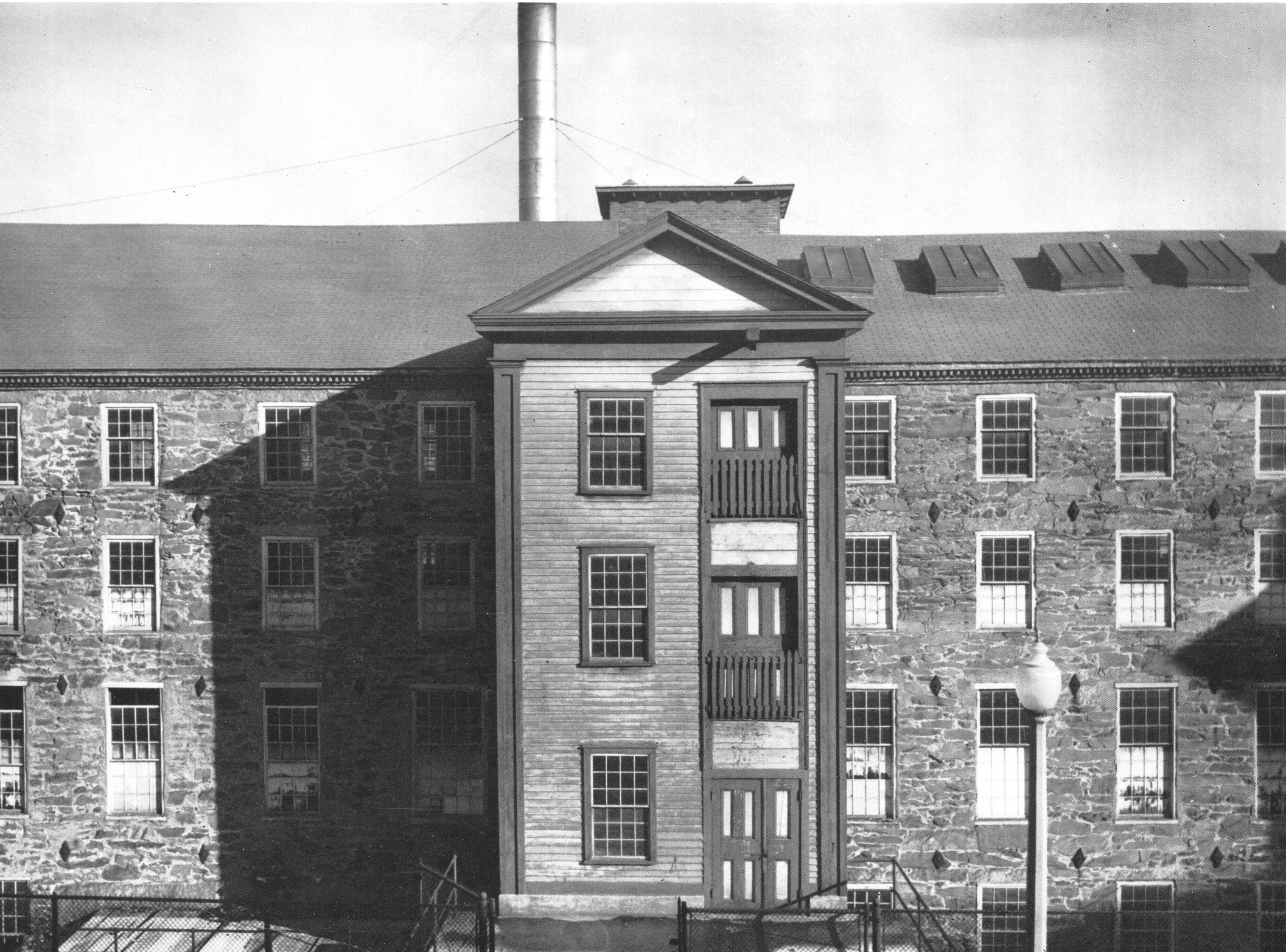
Taller and larger than the Slater Mill with clerestorey monitor and belfry-crowned end tower. The detail is still domestic.

31. OLD BELFRY STONE MILL, Georgiaville, Smithfield. 1813. *(McCarthy)*

About 1810 stone construction replaced wood for the larger mills. The trap-door dormer is still of the early type. The belfry is simpler and less meeting-house-like. The scale in general is larger and less domestic.

32. LIPPITT WOOLEN MILL, Woonsocket. 1836. *(McCarthy)*

Woolen mills were not different in design from cotton mills. The rubble walls with their windows are beautifully proportioned. The wooden tower has the simplest Greek Revival detail. The architect may have been Bucklin.



33. MILL VILLAGE, Harris, Coventry Town. *(Romano)*

One of the largest and best preserved early villages. The date is uncertain; but the houses, although certainly later than those of about 1809 at Lippitt and about 1810 at Hope, are probably not as late as the mill of 1851. The site planning of the group is as good as the design of the individual cottages.

34. STONE MILL HOUSES, Fiskeville, Coventry Town. *(McCarthy)*

Some of the early houses here and at Georgiaville are of stone, possibly for the use of British operatives. These houses probably belong to the first quarter of the century.

35. WHITE ROCK MANUFACTURING COMPANY, White Rock, Westerly. 1849. *(Romano)*

This brick mill with the piers thickened between the windows is an early essay toward the type of construction which became ubiquitous in the later decades of the nineteenth century. It is, however, almost as well designed as the other pre-Civil-War mills of stone.

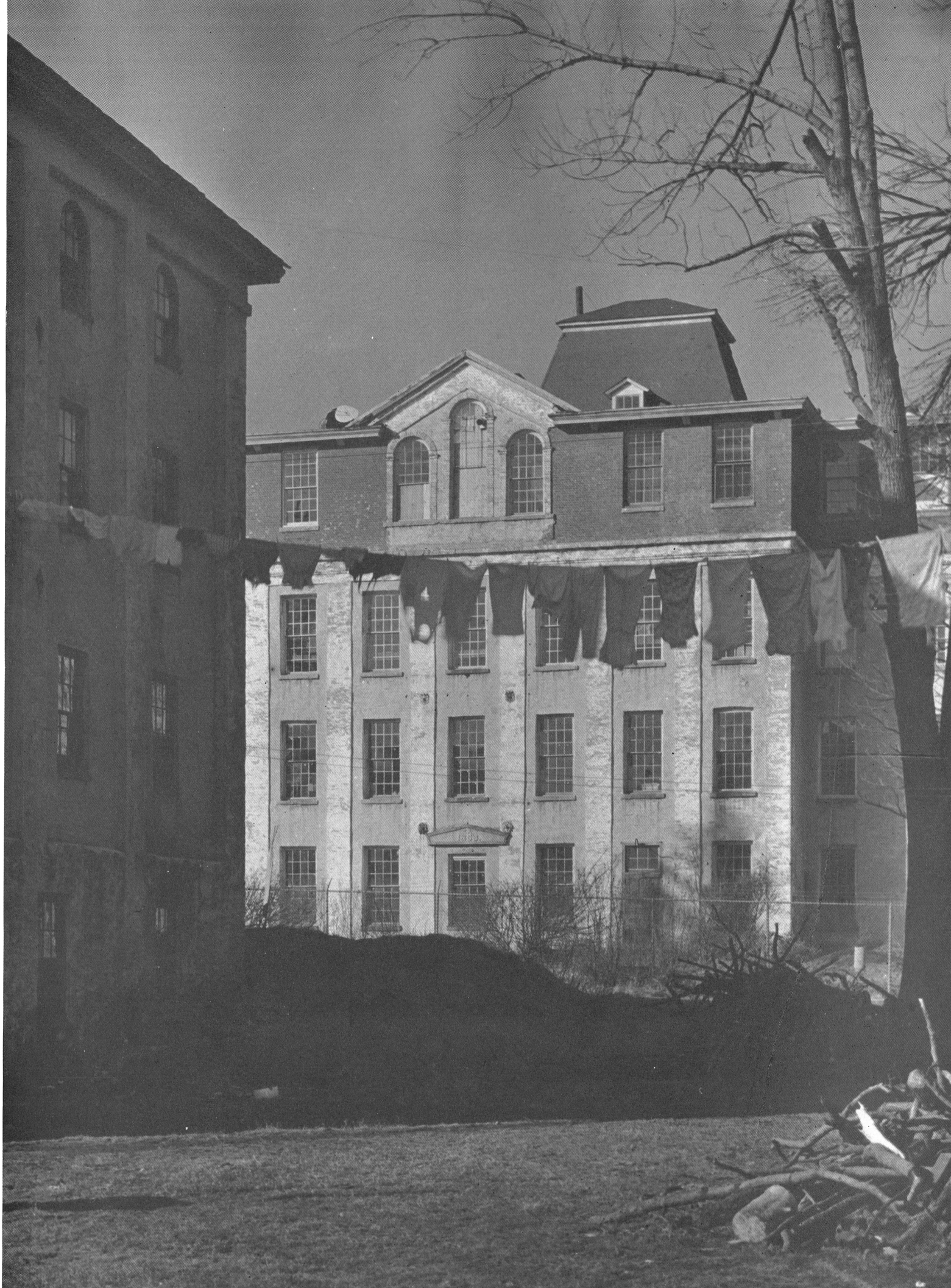
1849.

36. MILL VILLAGE, White Rock, Westerly. 1849. *(McCarthy)*

Twelve identical double houses were built at the same time as the mill. They have excellent simple late Greek Revival detail and, until the hurricane, were shaded by magnificent trees. The village was always considered a model of excellence.

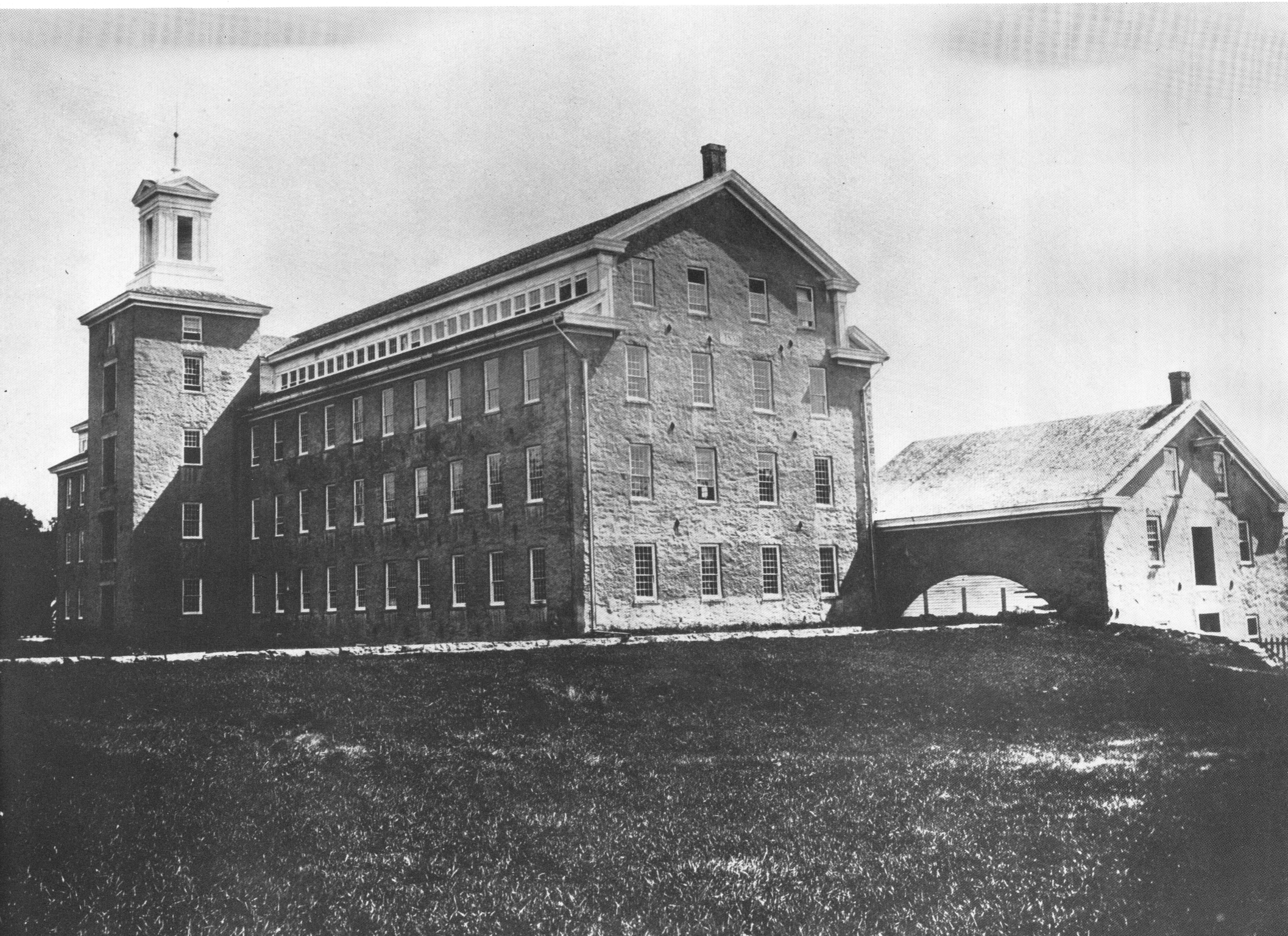
37. GEORGIA COTTON MANUFACTURING COMPANY, Georgiaville, Smithfield. 1853. *(McCarthy)*

Although damaged by the raising of the roof and the added later storey, this very large mill is in some ways the most impressive industrial monument in Rhode Island. The isolated blocks in front of the mill, of which one appears to the left, were perhaps boarding houses.



38. GOVERNOR HARRIS MANUFACTORY, Harris, West Warwick. 1851. *(Hess)*

This photograph taken in the sixties shows a fine mill of the type probably designed by Bucklin. Note the simple Greek Revival belfry, the heavy clerestorey monitor and the arch for the sluiceway at the right.



39. HAMLET MILL, Woonsocket. 1862. *(McCarthy)*

A magnificent industrial ruin with castellated detail atop the tower.

1862

40. LIPPITT WOOLEN MILL, Woonsocket. 1870. *(McCarthy)*

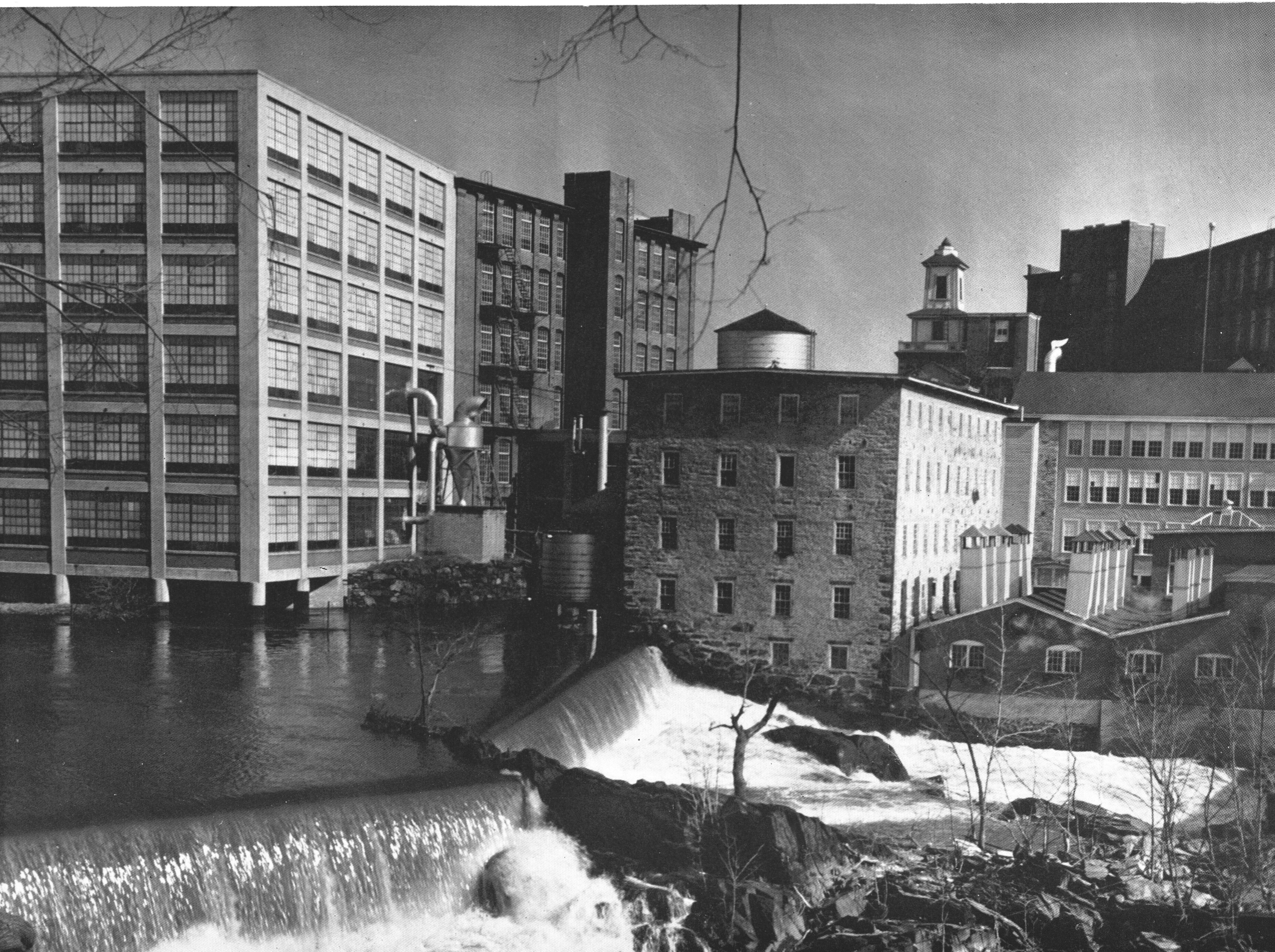
The brick piers with granite lintels provide an almost skeleton type of construction with much larger window areas. The French roof is not merely an echo of contemporary urban style; it makes possible a more useful and better lighted attic than the clerestorey monitor.

41. NOURSE MILL VILLAGE, Clinton Street, Woonsocket. c. 1870. *(Romano)*

The later villages in the Blackstone valley often have brick cottages with thick piers between the windows as in contemporary factory construction. Even this late many of the early amenities are preserved in Rhode Island.

42. WOONSOCKET FALLS MILL, Woonsocket. *(McCarthy)*

Three stages of mill construction: to the right a stone mill of the type of the mid-century (the roof has been lowered, but the belfry remains); behind, the brick pier type of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; to the left, twentieth century concrete skeleton construction. The congestion is characteristic of the later and larger industrial agglomerations.



43. MILL VILLAGE, Hope, Scituate. c. 1870. *(McCarthy)*

When the mill was enlarged a new street of houses was built. The French roofs provide better sleeping accommodations. There is fortunately no other Second Empire detail.

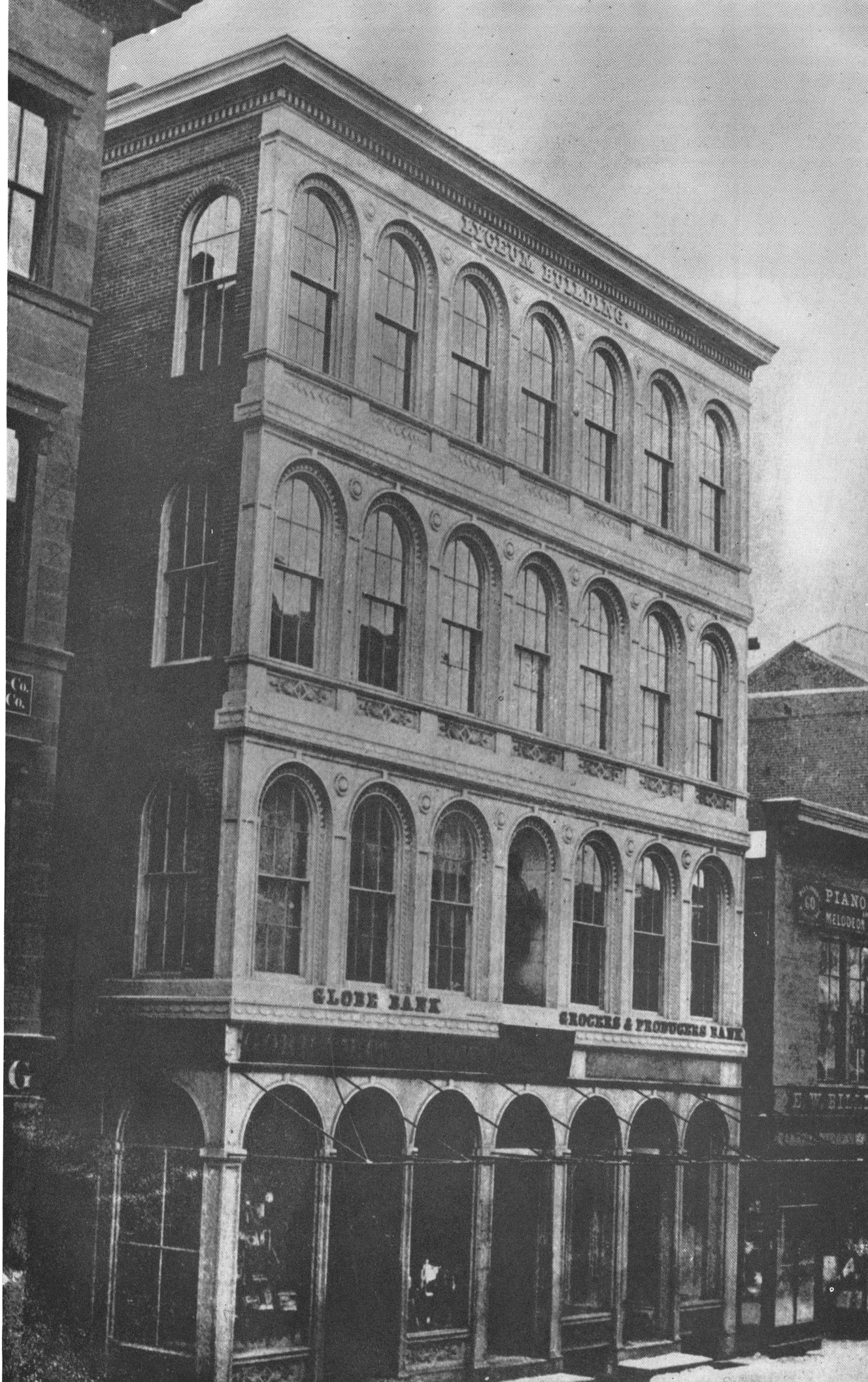
44. WASHINGTON BUILDINGS, Providence. 1843. *(Hacker)*
By James C. Bucklin.

A superb example, now destroyed, of Greek Revival commercial architecture. Note the monolithic granite piers of the ground storey.

AKERMAN'S BLANK BOOK MANUFACTORY
SWEET & BUTTS
HATS, CAPS & FURS
JOSEPH KNOWLES'S PRINTING OFFICE
24
8

45. LYCEUM BUILDING, Weybosset Street, Providence, 1865. *(Hess)*

A very elegant cast-iron facade, remarkably similar in design and construction to the granite Bristol Hotel of forty years earlier.


LYCEUM BUILDING
GLOBE BANK
GROCERS & PRODUCERS BANK
PIANO

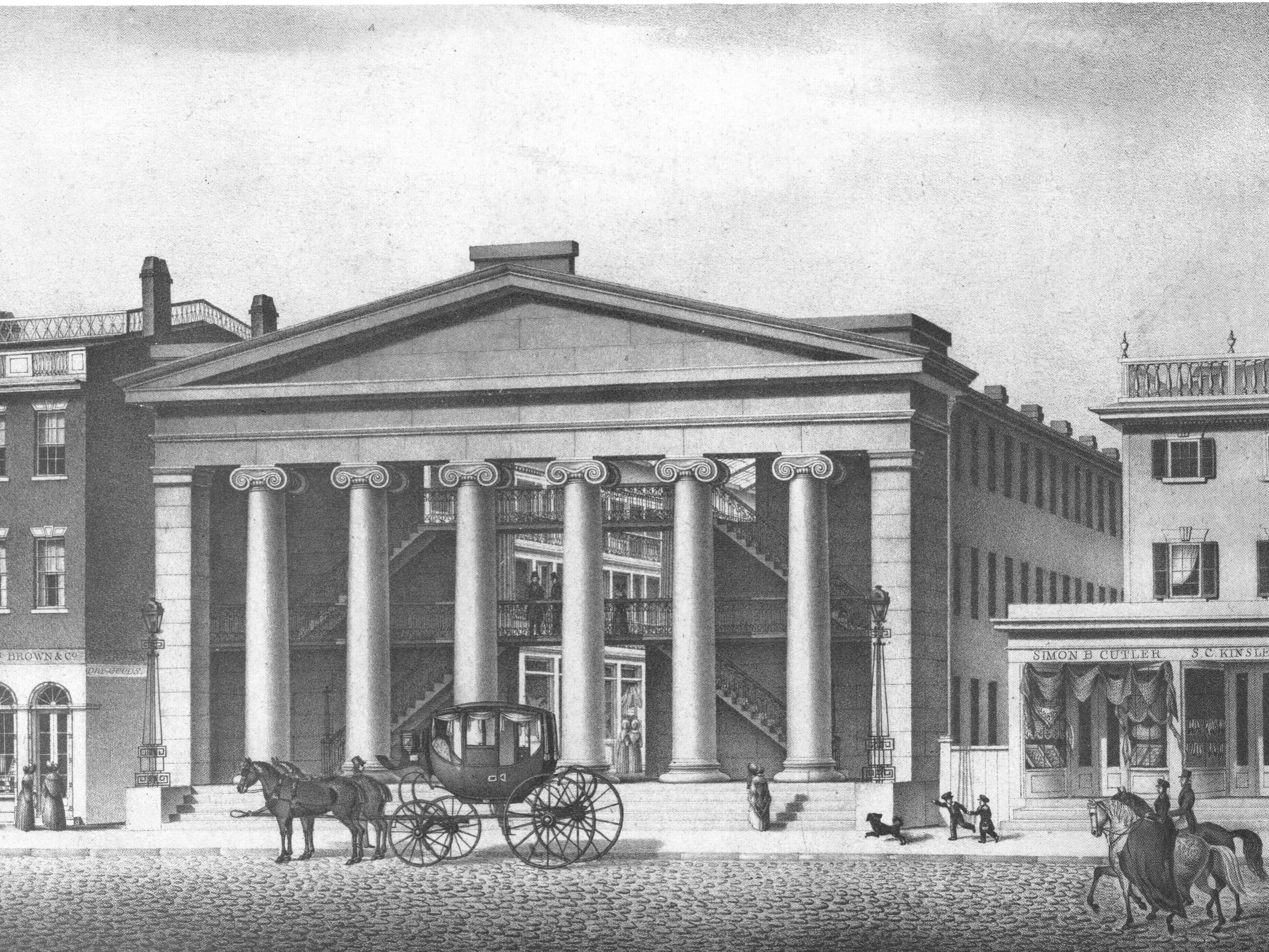
46. BLOCK OF STORES, Slatersville, North Smithfield. c. 1855. *(McCarthy)*

A remarkably fine rural example of late Greek Revival commercial architecture with monolithic granite piers between the shop windows, plain granite lintels, and no detail but the ingenious brick cornice.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK
OF SMITHFIELD
FOODS
THE CLOVER FARM STORES CO.
SLATERSVILLE
POST OFFICE
SALADA
TEA
Drink
MOXIE

47. **PROVIDENCE ARCADE,** Westminster Street, 1828.
James C. Bucklin (with Russell Warren, 1782-1864).

From a contemporary lithograph. The monumental dignity of an early Greek Revival semi-public monument contrasted with the domestic scale of earlier commercial building. A superb expression of granite construction.


BROWN & Co
SIMON B CUTLER

48. PROVIDENCE ARCADE, Westminster and Weybosset Streets. 1828. *(McCarthy)*

By James C. Bucklin (with Russell Warren, 1782-1864).

The chief extant American example of the arcades and passages of nineteenth century European cities. Light and straightforward in construction and design. A model of efficient and graceful commercial architecture.

1828
PROV. PICTURE FRAME CO.
61
61 ARCADE ART STORE
ANNUAL MARCH SALE
20% DISCOUNT
WM. MILLS & SON
PHOTOGRAPHERS
PICTURES FRAMED HERE 60
ARCADE EMPLOYMENT AGENCY
RAY WHEAT HEALTH SERVICE
LOUIS & CO. LEATHER GOODS SHOE REPAIRING
RAY WHEAT HEALTH SERVICE
ARCADE CURTAIN SHOP
LIBBY-ANN'S CANDIES
DOLLY WONDERLAND
DOLLY TOGS
BEADS RESTRUNG
JEWELRY-UMBRELLAS
REPAIRING

49. WESTMINSTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Westminster Street, Providence, 1840.

By James C. Bucklin.

An unusually large and correct example of the Greek temple type of church.

50. CHESTNUT HILL BAPTIST CHURCH, Exeter. 1838. *(Weber)*

The extreme simplification of Greek Revival forms often led to great originality of design in rural areas.

CHESTNUT HILL
BAPTIST CHURCH
1838

51. ELMHYRST, One Mile Corner, Newport. c. 1840. *(Weber)*

A remarkable Greek Revival mansion with great originality of composition despite its academic plan and correct Ionic orders.

52. OLD BAPTIST CHURCH, Georgiaville, Smithfield. 1856. *(McCarthy)*

A remarkably effective example of a rural Gothic Revival church, more interesting perhaps, than the larger city churches of Upjohn.

53. **"KINGSCOTE"**, Bowery, Newport. 1838. *(Romano)*
By Richard Upjohn, 1802-1878.

An early example of the Gothic house, asymmetrical in composition at least from the entrance side, and with Tudor detail. Much enlarged at the rear.

54. EDWARD KING HOUSE, now People's Library, Spring Street, Newport. 1845-1847. *(Weber)*
By Richard Upjohn, 1802-1878.

An early example of the asymmetrical Italian villa type of house.

PEOPLE'S LIBRARY

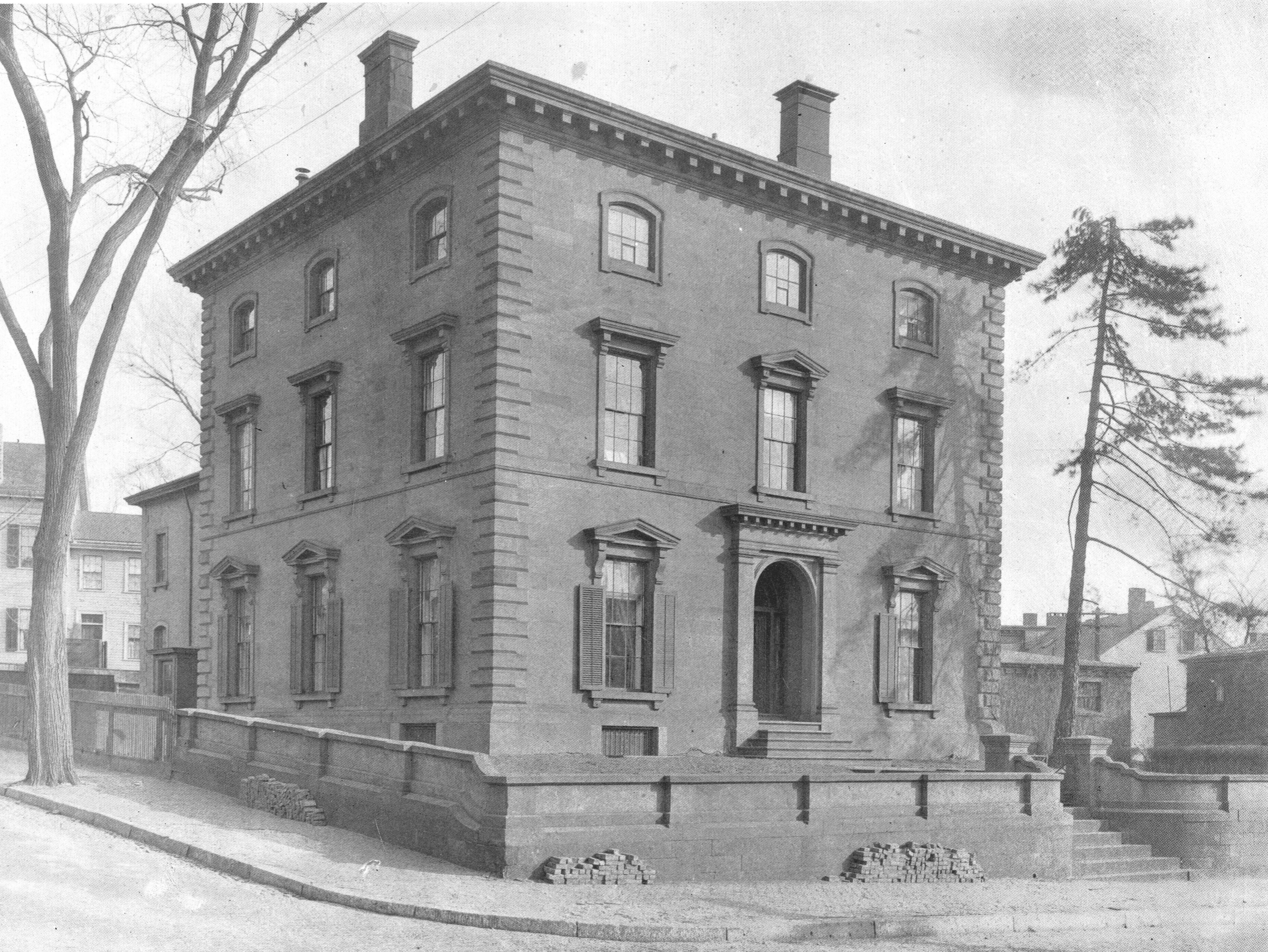
55. UNION DEPOT, Exchange Place, Providence. 1848. Designed by Thomas A. Tefft, 1826-1859, executed by Tallman and Bucklin.

An able Romantic design with Lombard brick detail. Only some of the attached freight houses remain today. Simple, but very picturesque in contrast to the severity of Greek Revival commercial architecture.

56. TULLY BOWEN HOUSE, Benefit and John Streets, Providence. 1852-1853. *(Romano)*

By Thomas A. Tefft, 1826-1859.

One of the handsomest of Tefft's Italianate mansions, with academic plan, brown-stone walls, and simple, heavy Renaissance trim. A model much followed in Providence in brick and wood by other architects even as late as the seventies.



57. "FAIRBOURNE", Bellevue Avenue, Newport. 1853-1854.

The French-roofed house of the fifties was dignified and ample, conservative in plan, and usually no more ornate than contemporary Italian villas.

58. GEORGE R. FEARING HOUSE, Narragansett Avenue, Newport. 1871-1872.

A rather careful imitation of the French chateaux of the eighteenth century, quite different from the confused French-roofed American style of the late fifties and sixties.

59. **WATTS SHERMAN HOUSE,** Shepard Avenue, Newport. 1874-1876. *(Abbott)* By H. H. Richardson, 1838-1886.

The first and in some respects the finest American version of the English manor house. The wing on the left was added much later in the original style.

60. **"CHATEAU-SUR-MER"**, Bellevue Avenue, Newport. 1872-1873. (*Weber*)
By Richard M. Hunt, 1825-1895.

Somewhat confused still in style, like the houses of the sixties, this house has the qualities of its superb granite walling and monolithic detail.

61. **"SOUTHSIDE"**, Ochre Point Avenue, Newport. 1882. *(Weber)*
By McKim, Mead and White.

The largest of the great Americanized "Queen Anne" houses of Newport. On the whole well massed despite the confusion of many minor elements (some of the dormers to the right are later) and with much inventive detail in the cut shingles, etc.

62. ISAAC BELL, JR., HOUSE, Bellevue Avenue, Newport. 1882. *(Abbott)*
By McKim, Mead and White.

The delicacy of detail in White's best early work is well illustrated by the bamboo-like porch columns. The Adam detail of the gable windows and oculus is prophetic of the conversion to academic style which came a few years later.

63. **"KINGSCOTE"**, Bowery, Newport. 1880. *(Abbott)*
Enlargements by McKim, Mead and White.

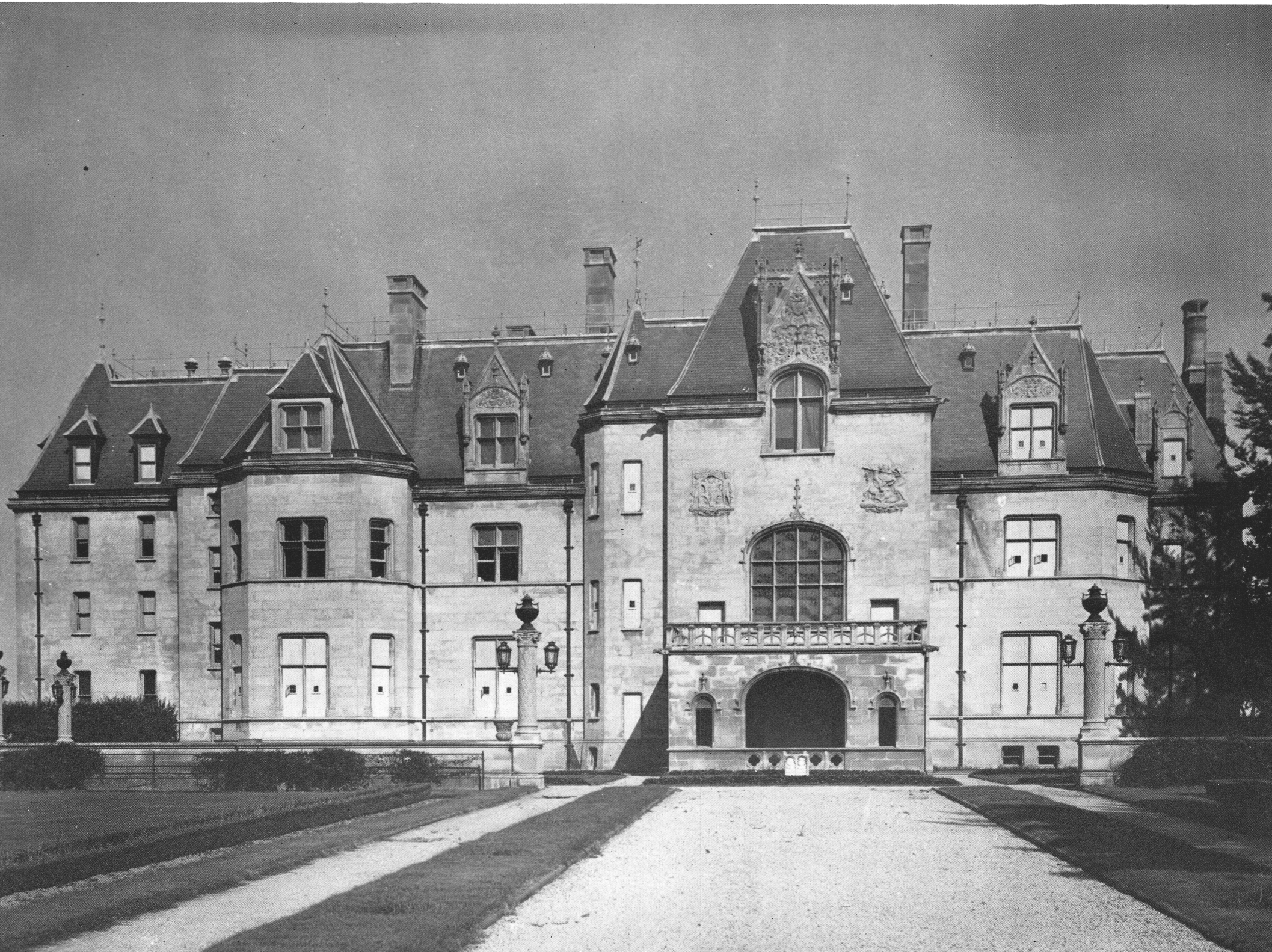
A splendid example of White's ability at interior design. The use of fine materials, mahogany panelling, cork ceiling, marble fireplace and Tiffany glass windows, is particularly rich and ingenious.

64. **CASINO,** Narragansett Pier. 1884-1886. *(Abbott)*
By McKim, Mead and White.

This solid and Richardsonian building, of which only a fragment remains, was designed just as the architects' conversion to academic Renaissance style was taking place. Like the Wm. G. Low house in Bristol of a year or two later it has the poignant distinction of a cause already lost.

65. **"OCHRE COURT"**, Ochre Point Avenue, Newport. 1888-1891. *(Romano)*
By Richard M. Hunt.

Archaeological French Late Gothic, executed in Indiana limestone, closely resembling some contemporary French country houses. Cold, splendid, elaborate, and wholly inappropriate to its site, if not to the life it housed.



66. **H. A. C. TAYLOR HOUSE,** Annandale Road, Newport. 1886. *(Weber)*
By McKim, Mead and White.

The first Colonial Revival house: with academic plan, eclectic eighteenth century detail and even the typical early Newport gable-above-hip roof.

67. W. G. LOW HOUSE, Bristol. 1887. *(Romano)*
By McKim, Mead and White.

A masterpiece among American summer houses, purged of the extreme picturesqueness of the "Queen Anne," but not bound by the academic discipline of the Colonial Revival. To be compared with Richardson's and Wright's best wooden houses.

68. **"THE BREAKERS"**, Ochre Point, Newport. 1892-1895. *(Weber)*
By Richard M. Hunt.

The Newport "palace", par excellence. The climax of the series of summer mansions of the late nineteenth century.

69. STATE HOUSE, Providence. 1895-1901. *(McCarthy)*
By McKim, Mead and White.

A large and conspicuous monument of twentieth century academic and traditional architecture.

70. PROVIDENCE COUNTY COURT HOUSE, Providence, 1930-1933. *(McCarthy)*

By Jackson, Robertson & Adams.

An unusually large and complex example of design, supposedly in the eighteenth century Colonial tradition.

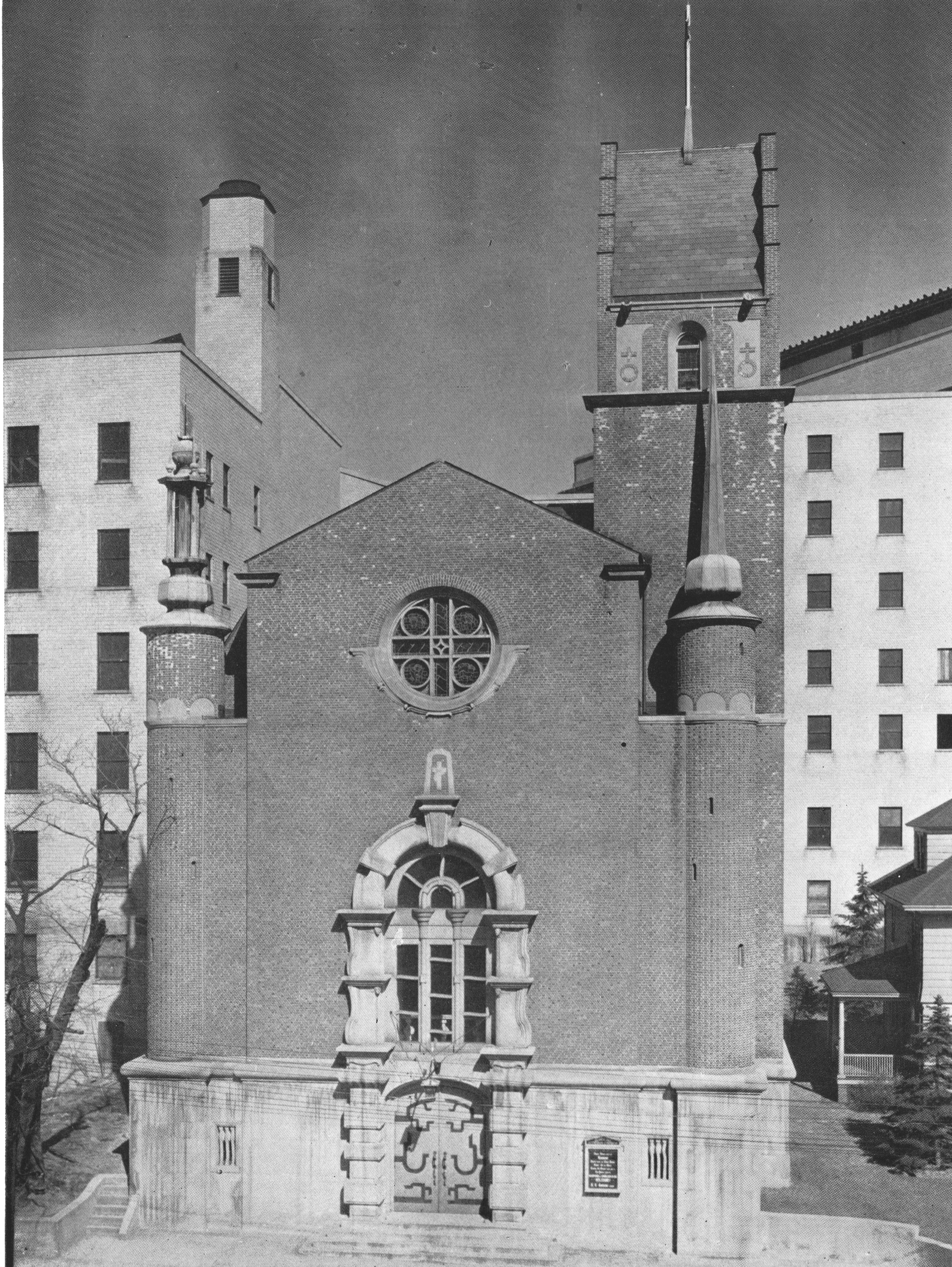
71. INDUSTRIAL TRUST COMPANY BUILDING, Providence. 1928. *(McCarthy)*

By Walker and Gillette.

A typical example of the skyscraper of the last decade, which dominates the silhouette of Providence.

72. GLORIA DEI CHURCH, Hayes Street, Providence. 1928. *(McCarthy)*
By Martin Hedmark.

An example of European half-modern architecture unique in Rhode Island.



73. JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN HOUSE, Fisher's Island, N. Y. 1937-1938.
(Legere)
By Richard J. Neutra.

The largest and most elaborate modern house in America, by one of the world's leading modern architects. Aluminum window frames, aluminum painted wood sheathing. The glazed living room and bedroom above face southwest to the sea.

74. **JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN HOUSE,** Fisher's Island, N. Y. 1937-1938.
(Legere)
By Richard J. Neutra.

The Music Room terrace.

75. ALEXANDER KNOX HOUSE, Saunderstown, North Kingstown. 1935, 1938. *(Weber)*

By Knox and Lafarge.

The wooden frame is sheathed partly with bricks set on edge and in the new wing to the right with stucco. Living room and dining room are wholly glazed toward the water. Covered terraces and pergolas form an effective extension of the composition of the house.

76. NORMAN HERRESHOFF HOUSE, Bristol. 1938. *(Weber)*
By Norman Herreshoff.

Covered with asbestos clapboards. The living room and attached dining room have glass walls toward the bay. The large doors at the left open into a boat workshop.

77. **MARY ELLIS HOUSE,** East Greenwich. 1938-1939.
By William and Sylvia Wilde.

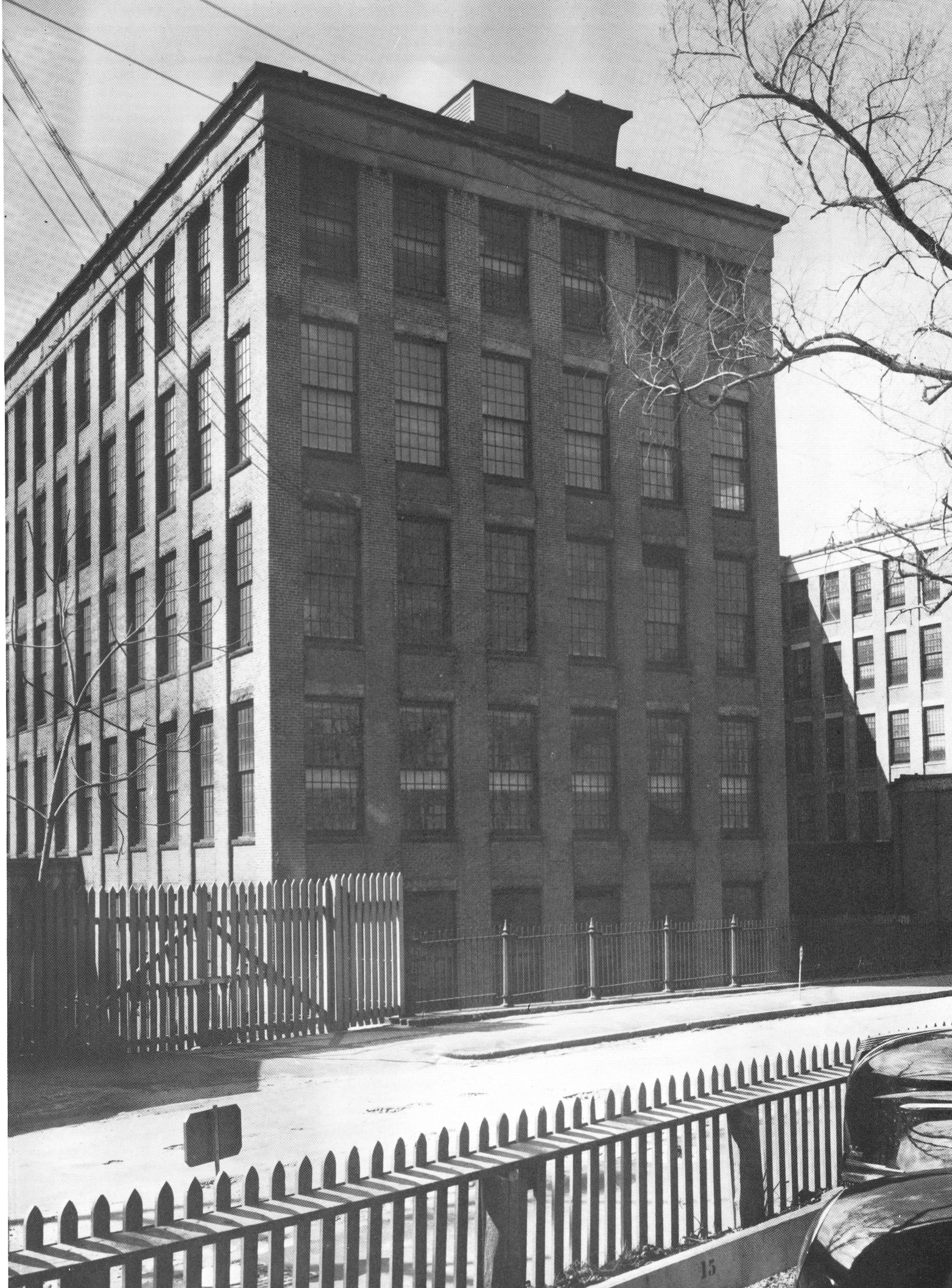
78. NICHOLAS MONSARRAT AND JANE MONSARRAT HOUSES, East Providence. 1936.

By General Housing Corporation.

One of the several types of mass-produced pre-fabricated houses with factory made slabs on a light steel frame.

79. BROWN AND SHARPE PLANT, Edith, Holden, and Leland Streets, Providence. 1905-1919. *(McCarthy)*

Handsome early twentieth century plant with carefully designed, almost Richardsonian detail. The type of construction with thick brick piers is that introduced in the late nineteenth century and continued in Rhode Island down until after the War.



80. PROVIDENCE BASE WORKS, Atwells Avenue. 1918. *(McCarthy)*

Low, cleanly composed brick plant, of the post-War type but not of the latest design.

81. GRANDSTANDS, Narragansett Park, Pawtucket. 1935. *(McCarthy)*
By A. F. Smiley Construction Co.

A very large, bold, clean example of modern engineering construction.

ETCHINGS AND ENGRAVINGS
BY THOS. H. DEVLIN OF THE PHOTO-ENGRAVING DEPARTMENT
OF THE RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN

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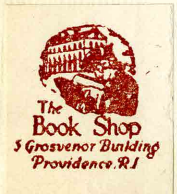
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